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Trades Union Congress and Labour
Party, England

Industrial negotiations and
agreements.



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Trades Union Congress and Labour
Party, London

INDUSTRIAL NEGOTIATIONS AND AGREEMENTS

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INDUSTRIAL NEGOTIATIONS AND AGREEMENTS

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FOREWORD

By

THE RIGHT HON. J. R. CLYNES, M.P.

Agreements requiring employers to observe stated conditions of Labour and Pay for their workers have come into industry in recent years as a new type of Contract. Contracts formerly were limited to bargains between those who bought the products of the worker and those who sold them. The worker who produced was seldom, if ever, considered in the terms of the contract. He also was a commodity bought and sold at what was the market price for labour, but he had little to do with the transaction. He was secured for service at such rates as the employer could or would pay, but he in the main was in the position of taking what was offered or leaving it. He could not bargain. He was not a partner. He had no agents or spokesmen. He had no rights existing within the employer's power to buy and his own necessity to sell. Such was the condition of the producer for generations.

In modern industrial Britain the status of the worker has been changed by organisation. He is still far removed from his rights, but his strength has often been shown. The power which alone is derived from unity can be applied by workmen through their Trade Unions and the arts of negotiation and conferences are employed to place workmen on a footing where they can bargain for the sale of their labour and settle that sale on terms set forth in an agreement which both parties approve.

From secret societies banned by the law, or existing in dread of discovery by employers of labour, or their agents, Trade Unions have arisen to a level where they are recognised as business bodies possessing and using for their members similar skill and attributes as are employed by directors, salesmen, and managers on behalf of business firms. Many of us years ago had the experience of finding that we could not exact a postcard in reply from certain employers to whom we appealed for consideration. Similar employers in more recent years now meet the spokesmen of Labour not only as a matter of course, but as a matter of fixed arrangement. Bodies for negotiation are an extensive part of the joint and permanent machinery which Trade Unions have helped to establish, not only for the discussion of wage questions, but in order that the direction of trade and commerce should be influenced for the betterment of those employed in them.

Trade Union officials have had to change their duties with changes in the Trade Union structure. They have to watch great questions of policy, market fluctuations, prices, stocks, reserves and operations of capital, as well as watching the trend of wages, and dealing with workshop grievances as they arise day by day.

The duties of negotiation no longer come with any element of surprise. In most industries those duties proceed with automatic precision. Councils, Boards, and fixed Conferences bring together representatives of the two sides, and Agreements arise as the result of discussion and bargain. There are failures and breakdowns. There are occasions when differences are so acute that agreement cannot be reached, and accordingly there are industrial stoppages. But stoppages are few in comparison with the number of cases amicably settled through the medium of negotiation.

This latest stage of Trade Union organisation is no longer limited to the manual worker, and hundreds of thousands of employees who work with their coats on are now shielded in their service and assisted to better conditions by means of numerous organisations which Trade Union effort and greater enlightenment on the part of many employers have called into being.

The Industrial Agreements set forth in these pages cannot express the immense amount of service rendered by Trade Unions to millions who benefit from their work. These Agreements are something more than pages of modern Industrial History. They are a record of achievement. To many they are the evidence of a Charter without which an approach to justice would have been impossible. Unlike other Agreements, an Agreement made by a Trade Union confers benefits upon many who remain outside it.

Are there still men who are ready to pocket all that a Union can get for them, and keep in their pockets the little they should pay to help the Union to get terms which all men are eager to share?

J. R. CLYNES.

Industrial Negotiations and Agreements

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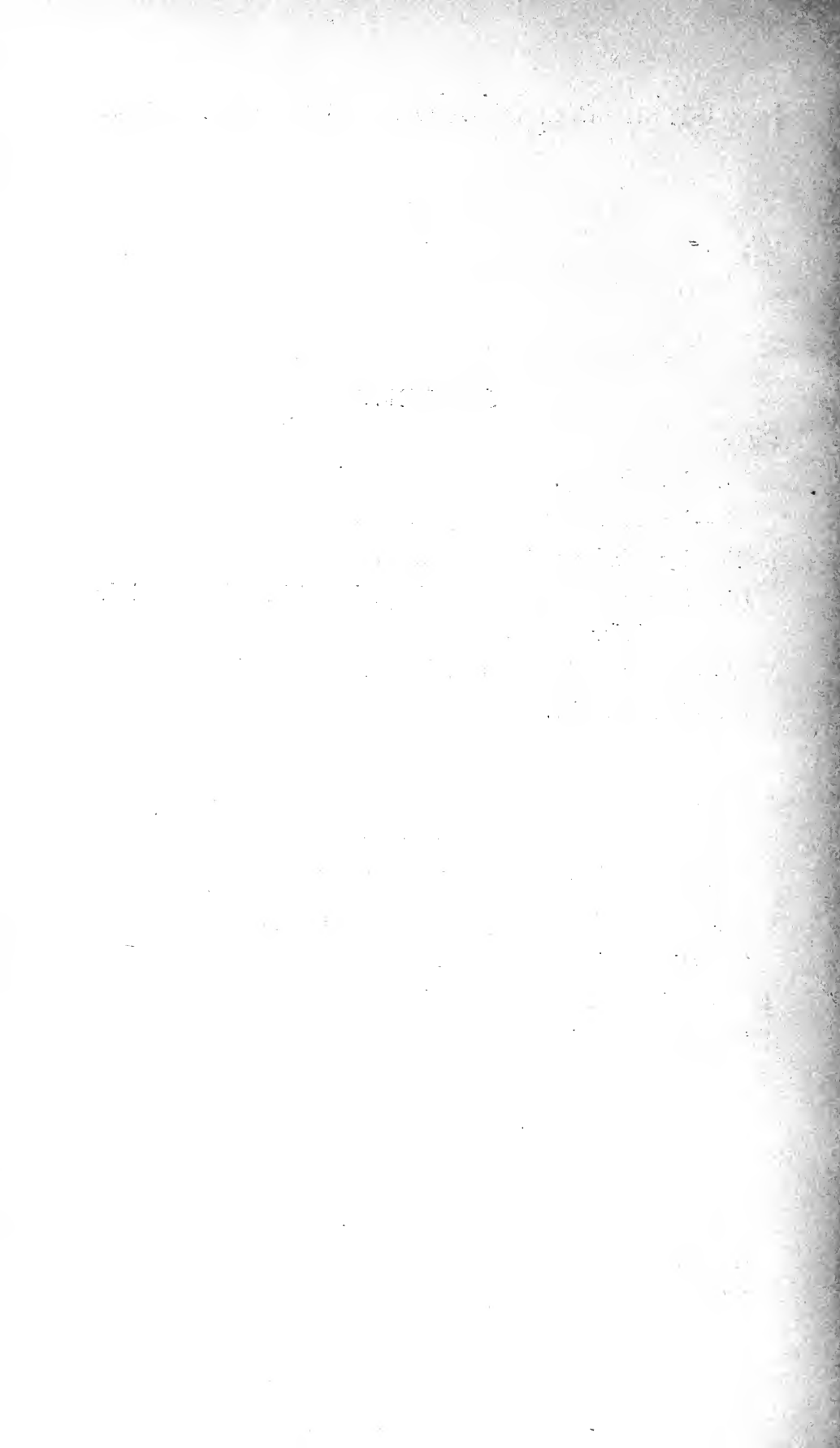
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The Machinery of Industrial Negotiations

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

Of all the problems confronting Trade Unionism to-day none is more important or more urgent than that of its own organisation and structure. Owing to the strong position in which Labour was placed during the war period, the years 1918-20 saw notable victories in the struggle for better conditions and higher status. Since the beginning of 1921 we have seen nearly all these gains swept away, we have seen disputes, many of which have been ineffective and costly, and we have seen failures which have only resulted in recrimination and dissension that cannot fail to leave the movement weaker than before. At the same time unemployment and distress have made inroads on Trade Union membership, and have depleted Trade Union exchequers to an appalling degree. Employment will revive and, more slowly perhaps, members will return to their organisations; but are those organisations going to be any better equipped to fight the workers' battle against a recurrence of these evils? Is our machine going to be more efficient and do we intend to learn by experience? Now is the time to find an answer to these questions and to make sure that our answer is the right one. We all have plans and projects that will have to wait until times are normal once more before we can hope to see them realised, but here is a task which can be undertaken now; we can, at any rate, make our own organisation a better instrument for carrying out the policy to which we are committed.

The first essential is to know how the different parts of the machine work at present. Every thoughtful Trade Unionist must often have felt that he was in the dark regarding the methods and structure of other Unions. He must often have wanted to know how the others carry on negotiations with employers; how they settle disputes; how they adjust wages; how they confer with other Unions in the same industry; whether they have national or district agreements; long term, short term, or undetermined agreements, and so on. All the details of organisation need to be investigated and recorded for the benefit of everyone concerned, for it is only by a careful study of present conditions and needs that we shall see the way clear to that greater unity and concentration of forces without which success will never be achieved.

This study is confined to the machinery by which negotiations between Trade Unions and employers are carried on, the provisions, where they exist, for common action and consultation by Trade Unions in the same or allied trades, and the extent and duration of collective agreements. Two special types of agreement embodying the sliding scale method of readjusting wages are singled out for special consideration.

On all these topics nothing is attempted but a general outline which will serve as an introduction to more detailed studies, and only sufficient of their history is given to make their present position intelligible. As a matter of interest, those expedients which were tried during the war period and have since been abandoned are briefly surveyed.

In analysing the machinery of industrial negotiation an important distinction must be made at the outset. In some cases agreements reached become legally enforceable on the trades to which they apply, while in other cases, and these form the vast majority, nothing but the goodwill of the respective parties is relied upon for the observance of the conditions contained in the agreements. The Boards set up under the Trade Boards Acts, 1909 and 1918, for instance, are obliged to fix minimum rates of wages in certain industries,

and these rates every employer is legally compelled to pay. Similarly, the Coal Mines Minimum Wage Act, 1912, foreshadowed a minimum wage for the workers in that industry in each mining district, the rate agreed upon by the district boards becoming the legal rate for the area.

The object of the State in thus giving legal sanction to such wage rates has been either the protection of sweated workers, who were unable because of defective organisation to secure a living wage, or else the protection of workers in a vitally important industry in which constant disputes prove disastrous to industry generally. Such State intervention in the form of legally enforceable agreements has been confined to the protection of wage rates and the imposition of hygienic standards, the latter being accomplished through the Factory Acts, Merchant Shipping Acts, Miners' Eight Hours Law, and similar legislation.

Voluntary machinery has included a much wider field, however, so that we have agreements, not legally enforceable but nevertheless operating over a large part of industry, in which practically every matter affecting the interests of the workers is regulated.

CHAPTER II

LEGALLY ENFORCEABLE AGREEMENTS

Compulsory arbitration has always been rejected by the British Labour movement, and any proposal to fix rates of wages which shall be backed by the State, and have behind them all the force of law, shares in the general suspicion which any mention of compulsion arouses. To the determination of legal minimum rates, however, the same opposition has not always been shown, and, indeed, some sections among the workers have striven to secure a general minimum wage law covering all industry. Such legally enforceable rates as are in force are therefore minimum rates, though in many cases they have become the usual rates. Broadly speaking, there are two classes of workers whose wages have been protected by the State in recent years, namely, sweated workers and war workers.

The State has intervened either because workers have been unable to win by ordinary means a subsistence wage, or because certain work has been so vital to the State (as for example munitions during the war) that all risk of disputes has had to be eliminated. It is true that the Trade Boards Act of 1918 extended the principle to workers who could not, strictly speaking, be said to be sweated, but these same workers were deemed to be unable to protect themselves, owing to lack of organisation, so that they were at any rate potential victims of sweating.

In the case of war workers the State was not primarily concerned to protect wages, but merely to control labour supply, the establishing of rates being a necessary corollary. As soon as the needs of the State became less urgent these provisions were relaxed, and at the earliest practicable moment wages were again left to be determined without any outside intervention or legal provision. In so far as State intervention took place or was continued after the war ended, it was still in the interests of national stability and safety.

The permanent legislation for the protection of low-paid workers includes the Trade Boards Acts and the Coal Mines Minimum Wage Act. The temporary wartime legislation to which reference has been made included the Munitions Acts, the Corn Production Act, and the Wages (Temporary Regulation) Act. All these are now repealed or have lapsed and the machinery they set up destroyed.

So far from protecting the workers, this temporary legislation, excepting only the Wages (Temporary Regulation) Act, actually limited their power. For the first time for many hundred years the demand for labour was greater than the supply, and State intervention was promptly resorted to in order that Labour should not take advantage of its strong position. When the supply of Labour once more exceeded the demand, however, State intervention ceased. In other words, the State merely keeps the ring when Labour is weak, but it intervenes to deliver the knock-out blow on behalf of the employer when Labour is strong.

TRADE BOARDS

The first Trade Boards Act, passed in 1909 with the approval of all parties, carried into effect a reform which Labour had advocated for many years, and which was finally made inevitable by the disclosure of the shocking state of affairs then existing in sweated trades. In 1906, for example, the Board of Trade Census of Earnings and Hours of Employment showed that in all but five of the thirty-two textile or clothing trades which were investigated, the average earnings of adult women were not more than 15s. per week per head. A large number received less than 10s. per week. The main provisions of the Act were :—

1. Trade Boards were to be set up in the following trades :—
 - (a) Ready made and wholesale bespoke tailoring.
 - (b) Paper box making.
 - (c) Lace finishing.
 - (d) Parts of chain-making industry.
2. The Board of Trade was to have power to move for additional Boards.
3. The constitution and powers of the Boards were defined.
4. The operation of Minimum Rates was dealt with.

Although the four trades mentioned were all sweated trades, they differed in other respects so that a fair basis for experiment was provided. Lace finishing and chain-making were trades located in definite areas while the others were widely dispersed.

The power to extend the Act to other trades was conditional upon agreement by Parliament. The Board of Trade could issue a Provisional Order, but this had to be ratified by both Houses of Parliament.

In 1913 the following trades were added :—

Sugar confectionery and food preserving.
Shirt making.
Metal hollow-ware.
Linen and cotton embroidery.

A Trade Board was to consist of equal numbers of representatives of employers and workers, together with three to five "neutral" persons appointed by the Board of Trade (now the Ministry of Labour). Each Board had power to fix minimum time or piece rates throughout part or whole of the trade.

One of the objections to the procedure laid down was that the delay in putting the award into force was excessive. For three months the award was inoperative, in order to give opportunity for objections to it, while for six months after the rate was fixed (supposing objections had not succeeded) it was only obligatory on employers undertaking contracts from the Government or from municipalities, all other employers being entitled to pay less provided their employees consented. Finally, the Board of Trade definitely fixed the

rates, and any non-observance thereafter made the employer liable to a fine not exceeding £20 for each offence and not exceeding £5 for each day it was continued after conviction. It should be noticed that the State (through the Trade Boards Department) was to enforce the rates directly, taking the initiative in all cases of non-compliance discovered by its inspectors. The Act has worked very successfully both in raising wages in the trades covered and in promoting organisation among the workers, though the latter result was not intended.

The object of the first Trade Boards Act was to protect workers in sweated trades, and not to set up machinery for fixing wages generally. There was no thought of an extension to other than sweated trades until, towards the end of the war, the Whitley Committee suggested that this machinery might be utilised for fixing minimum wages in those trades where no adequate machinery existed for the purpose. Joint Industrial Councils had been proposed for well organised industries, Interim Industrial Reconstruction Committees for industries not so highly organised, and the Trade Board method was thought best for the remaining unorganised, and therefore unprotected, workers.

The Trade Boards Act of 1918 carried this into effect, the Ministry of Labour being given power to set up a Trade Board for any trade where no adequate machinery for the effective regulation of wages was in existence. The provision that an Order had to pass through Parliament before becoming effective was revoked, and any Order made by the Ministry of Labour was thus put into action at once, though it could afterwards be cancelled by Parliament.

As before, however, an award of a Trade Board had to be confirmed by the Ministry of Labour before an Order was issued, and much criticism has since been directed against the Ministry because of its occasional refusal to ratify rates agreed to by the Boards.

Under the 1918 Act a large number of new Boards were set up, the total number on June 29, 1921, being sixty-one, covering about 3,000,000 workers. The effect was to set up minimum rates in a large number of low-paid and unorganised trades. Whether the introduction of State wage-fixing machinery into non-sweated trades is desirable or not is a moot point.

Minimum rates tend to become, in practice, maximum rates, and, while wages have undoubtedly increased and the workers have benefited in the trades covered by the Boards, some apprehension has been felt lest this form of compulsory wage-fixing and enforcement should be extended to other and better organised industries. It is now realised that there is very little danger of such a course being adopted, the tendency being in quite another direction. Early in 1921 a determined campaign was started by employers against the entire Trade Board system. Several employers were fined for refusing to pay the prescribed rates, while in one case the magistrate sided with the offender and would not convict. This scandalous defiance of the law was afterwards rectified. The Government aided the campaign by dismissing, in the spring of 1921, two-thirds of the investigating staff of the Trade Boards Department. The setting up of more new Boards under the 1918 Act was thus prevented. Finally, a Committee was set up, under the chairmanship of Lord Cave, to enquire into the Trade Board system. In its report, which was issued in April, 1922, the Committee recommended a reversion to the 1909 basis. The Trade Board, in other words, was to be a protection for sweated workers, not a normal piece of machinery in all trades where no adequate organisation or other wage-fixing machinery was in existence. This move expresses more than a mere desire not to be forced to pay higher wages; it is part of the consistent policy of employers to invoke either State or joint machinery for fixing wages, at a time when Labour is in a strong bargaining position, and to repudiate and abandon all such "interference" at a time

when Labour is comparatively weak. In the former case "industrial harmony" is the supreme principle, while now the salvation of industry lies in the uncompromising acceptance of individualism!

The recommendations made by the Cave Committee included the speeding up of the machinery, district instead of national boards and awards in certain cases, and, most important of all, the provision that the fixing of minimum rates should be obligatory on the Boards for the lowest paid grades only. Rates for other grades should only be fixed by agreement between the representatives of employers and workers, the "neutral" members not voting, and in such cases the wages due should be recoverable by civil proceedings only.

This reactionary report is strenuously opposed by the workers, and it is not yet certain how far the Government intends to carry out its recommendations.

The following is a list of all Trade Boards in existence on June 1, 1922, arranged in the order in which they were formed:—

Chain (Great Britain).	Dressmaking and Women's Light Clothing (England and Wales).
Machine-Made Lace and Net Finishing.	Perambulator and Invalid Carriage (Great Britain).
Paper Box (Great Britain).	Flax and Hemp (Great Britain).
Paper Box (Ireland).	Aerated Waters (Ireland).
Shirtmaking (Great Britain).	Button Making (Great Britain).
Sugar Confectionery and Fruit Preserving (Great Britain).	Stamped or Pressed Metal Wares (Great Britain).
Sugar Confectionery and Fruit Preserving (Ireland).	Pin, Hook and Eye and Snap Fastener (Great Britain).
Shirtmaking (Ireland).	Retail and Bespoke Tailoring (Great Britain).
Tin Box (Great Britain).	Hair, Bass and Fibre (Great Britain).
Hollow-ware (Great Britain).	Milk Distributive (England and Wales).
Linen and Cotton Embroidery (Ireland).	Dressmaking and Women's Light Clothing (Scotland).
Tobacco (Great Britain).	Ditto, ditto (Ireland).
Laundry (Great Britain).	Hat, Cap and Millinery (Scotland).
Boot and Shoe Repairing (Great Britain).	Hat, Cap and Millinery (Ireland).
Paper Bag (Great Britain).	Wholesale Mantle and Costume (Ireland).
Corset.	Laundry (Ireland).
Brush and Broom (Great Britain).	Rope, Twine and Net (Ireland).
Tobacco (Ireland).	Retail Bespoke Tailoring (Ireland).
Boot and Shoe Repairing (Ireland).	Ready-made and Wholesale Bespoke Tailoring (Ireland).
Fur (Great Britain).	Flax and Hemp Spinning and Weaving (Ireland).
Rope, Twine and Net (Great Britain).	Linen and Cotton Handkerchief and Household Goods and Linen Piece Goods (Great Britain).
Jute (Great Britain).	Grocery and Provisions (England and Wales).
Wholesale Mantle and Costume (Great Britain).	Milk Distributive (Ireland).
Coffin Furniture and Cerement Making (Great Britain).	Milk Distributive (Scotland).
Brush and Broom (Ireland).	Toy (Great Britain).
Aerated Waters (England and Wales).	
Aerated Waters (Scotland).	
Hat, Cap and Millinery (England and Wales).	
Ready-made and Wholesale Bespoke Tailoring (Great Britain).	

General Waste Materials Reclamation (Great Britain).	Made-up Textiles (Great Britain).
General Waste Materials Reclamation (Ireland).	Ostrich and Fancy Feathers and Artificial Flowers (Great Britain).
Cotton Waste Reclamation (Great Britain).	Boot and Floor Polish (Great Britain).
Grocery and Provisions (Scotland).	Sack and Bag (Great Britain).

An important development on the workers' side was the formation, early in 1921, of a Trade Boards Advisory Council, mainly composed of members of the workers' sides of Trade Boards. The object of the Council is to advise the General Council of the Trades Union Congress on Trade Board policy, and to co-ordinate the work and policy of the workers' sides of the various Boards. Much valuable work in these directions has already been accomplished.

Within its limitations, which are well defined and well understood, the Trade Board has proved to be an efficient piece of machinery for improving conditions in low-paid trades. In a time of rapidly fluctuating prices and wage rates its present constitution is seen to be cumbrous and its action slow, but this is a defect which is easily remedied. As the tendency is invariably to improve organisation in the trade affected the Board tends to become a Joint Council not unlike the Joint Industrial Councils in well organised industries. The differences are obvious, of course; the appointed members frequently sway the voting one way or the other, and the rate, once fixed and ratified by the Minister of Labour, becomes the legally enforced rate for the entire trade or part of the trade covered by the Board. In the Joint Industrial Council there are no appointed members and agreed rates are not legally binding. On the other hand, the workers' side of the Trade Board tends to be composed of Trade Union officials and the employers' side acquires a similar solidarity. The tendency will become more marked if the Cave Committee's recommendations are carried out, for in fixing rates for other than the lowest grade the appointed members will not vote, and there will only be fixed minimum rates if employers' and workers' representatives agree. For all rates other than the lowest minimum rates the Boards will, in fact, be functioning as Whitley Councils, except that the rates in this case will become legally binding on all employers in the trade. It is often supposed that Trade Boards are confined to the function of fixing wages, but this is not so. While wage fixing is their main work, they are empowered to make recommendations to a Government department relating to industrial conditions in the trade, and this they have frequently done. This constitutes a further similarity to a Joint Industrial Council. The transition from Trade Board to Joint Industrial Council becomes, therefore, a fairly simple matter, provided the trade becomes sufficiently well organised, and this object is automatically promoted by the operation of the Trade Board itself. Such a tendency was foreseen and suggested by the Whitley Committee (Second Report on Joint Standing Industrial Councils), and it was, in fact, recommended that on Joint Councils for industries with only a moderate degree of organisation representatives of the Ministry of Labour should sit (corresponding to the appointed members of Trade Boards).

COAL MINES MINIMUM WAGE ACT, 1912

The Minimum Wage Act secured by the miners in 1912 provided that 22 District Boards should be established and that they should fix minimum rates, the independent chairman being given the power to decide should the employers' and workers' representatives not agree. The rates would then become legally enforceable, though in this case (unlike the Trade Board rates) they would not

be directly enforced by the State; the initiative would have to come from the worker or his Trade Union, and action be taken not under the criminal law, but in the civil courts. The present scheme for adjusting wages in the mining industry is given in a later chapter. (See Sliding Scales based on Selling Price.)

The 1912 Act embodied a principle which has now been adopted by most sections of labour, the principle that whatever the state of the industry and of profits may be, a living wage for the workers must be the first charge.

TEMPORARY (WAR) LEGISLATION

Munitions Act and Committee on Production

The Committee on Production in Engineering and Shipbuilding Establishments was set up in February, 1915, and in the following month was given the function of inquiring into and adjudicating upon matters in dispute between workers and employers. The same function was assigned to it by the Munitions of War Act, 1915, its operation being extended to all munitions work, though if the disputing parties preferred a different form of arbitration court alternatives were laid down in the Act. The Munitions Act also gave the Ministry of Munitions power to declare any establishment a controlled establishment, and in that case, in addition to limitation of profits, any proposals to change wages or conditions had to be sanctioned by the Minister.

The matters coming within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Production comprised all working conditions, and not merely wages and hours.

At the same time Munitions Tribunals were set up under the Act to adjudicate upon alleged offences under the Act or cases of non-compliance with the regulations.

The Munitions Act worked so unsatisfactorily and employers so used it to their own advantage and to the detriment of the workers, that industrial unrest grew apace and an amending Act had to be passed in 1916. Certain improvements were secured, but the Act remained very unsatisfactory. A special arbitration tribunal was set up to deal with the conditions of women's employment, imprisonment for offences under the Act was abolished, and the Ministry took power to regulate the wages of semi-skilled and unskilled men in controlled establishments. The administration of the Act continued to be very unsatisfactory, and a further Act was passed in 1917 extending wage awards to whole trades or districts where they had been already agreed to for part of the trade or district.

The machinery by which the Munitions Acts regulated wages and conditions was of a kind which could only work satisfactorily for a limited period and in circumstances such as those obtaining at a time of national emergency. The Committee on Production was the arbitration court which was almost universally adopted, and its awards, though somewhat erratic at first, tended to become more uniform as time went on, and the areas covered by its decisions became larger.

There were also two special arbitration courts, one for women's wages and one for men's, under the Munitions Acts. The former was very active, and issued awards dealing in some cases with wages on a national basis.

Such rough-and-ready machinery could not be considered satisfactory in normal times, and even as it was much friction was caused. The only justification which could be urged for this method of compulsory arbitration and wage fixing was that the national interest was of paramount importance, and that in such circumstances ideally just awards could not be expected.

Agricultural Wages Board

The Agricultural Wages Board was set up under the Corn Production Act, 1917, and continued in existence until August, 1921, when the Corn Produc-

tion Acts (Repeal) Act was passed. In form the Board was similar to a Trade Board, being composed of representative members and appointed members. The Act laid it down that there should be equal numbers of employers' representatives and workers' representatives, with not more than one-fourth of the total membership of the Board as appointed members. The Board of Agriculture made regulations providing that there should be seven appointed members and 32 representative members (of whom eight should be appointed by workers' organisations, eight by employers' organisations, and the remainder by the Board of Agriculture). The Board was obliged to fix minimum time rates (not less than 25s. per week), and had power to fix minimum piece rates and overtime rates.

Thirty-nine District Committees were set up for England and Wales, and to these were delegated all duties and powers except that of fixing a minimum wage, though a District Committee was expected to make recommendations on this also.

After inquiries, minimum rates were fixed for all areas, as well as hours and overtime rates. The actual rates and hours adopted varied from district to district, though, naturally, identical figures were agreed upon in many areas, and the variations in other cases were not very great.

As in the case of the Trade Boards Act, the awards of the Board were directly enforced by the State, inspectors under the Ministry of Agriculture being appointed for the purpose. From October 28, 1918, to August 22, 1921, complaints were received in respect of 10,526 farms, arrears of wages were collected amounting to £40,667; and there were 346 prosecutions, 85 per cent. of which succeeded.

In only one instance did the Minister of Agriculture exercise his power of directing the Wages Board to reconsider a decision, and on this occasion the original decision was maintained.

Wages Temporary Regulation Act

As much war-time legislation, including many regulations dealing with wage rates, became unnecessary when the war came to an end, it was realised that if hopeless confusion and injustice were to be avoided some temporary provision would have to be made to tide over the period of demobilisation and an unsettled labour market. The Wages (Temporary Regulation) Act was therefore passed in November, 1918. By its provisions the rates current on November 11, 1918, were fixed as the statutory minimum rates for a period of six months. The Act was extended for a further period of six months when the original period terminated, and then, by the Industrial Courts Act, 1918, until September 30, 1920, when it lapsed.

Redress in case of violation of the Act could be sought through the courts, and alteration of the prescribed rates was possible through an interim court of arbitration to be set up under the Act. This court was to consist of employers' and workers' representatives, together with independent persons from whom the chairman of the court and of every division thereof was to be selected. Variations of rates and other decisions of the court were then binding upon the workers and employers concerned, and, provided the Minister of Labour approved, upon the entire class to which the original prescribed rate applied.

CHAPTER III

NON-ENFORCEABLE AGREEMENTS

In the instances already given of decisions which are legally enforceable wages and hours are the only subjects dealt with, the power of Trade Boards to take into account other working conditions being limited to permission to make recommendations.

Where machinery is on a voluntary basis with no legal compulsion upon either side to observe decisions we find, as might be expected, a much wider range of topics, including even in some cases what are commonly regarded as purely "managerial" functions. At the same time the negotiation of wage rates has always been the most important function of such machinery, and if in some cases other matters have temporarily overshadowed it, it remains true that generally speaking the settlement of these fundamental working conditions is still the main object.

Before 1914 there were already in existence a considerable number of conciliation and arbitration boards and other devices for preventing or settling industrial disputes. In some cases industries had their own firmly established machinery, to which were automatically referred claims for alterations in rates and other working conditions. In some cases the only questions thus settled were those concerning the interpretation of existing agreements, while new proposals were left to be settled by the ordinary process of bargaining. There was, in fact, a great diversity both in structure and in powers. There were local Boards, district Boards and national Boards; permanent Boards, and those called merely for specific disputes as and when they occurred; Boards composed of workers and employers involved, and others composed of workers and employers not involved, in the dispute. In some cases arbitration was resorted to, failing agreement on the Board, and in others arbitration was the rule whenever interpretation of agreements was involved. Full details of the constitution and work of the various agencies in existence prior to the war are given in official publications*.

The source of much of this activity was the Conciliation Act, 1896, which not only provided for the registration of any Conciliation or Arbitration Board making application, but also gave the Board of Trade power to inquire into any dispute, actual or apprehended, and to appoint conciliators or arbitrators for the purpose of bringing the parties together or, with the consent of both sides, adjudicating on the matter in dispute. These powers have been used considerably, as the following figures show:—

BOARDS OF CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION UNDER CONCILIATION ACT, 1896

NUMBER OF CASES.				NUMBER OF CASES.			
	Total.	Involving Stoppage.	No Stoppage		Total.	Involving Stoppage.	No Stoppage.
1896* ..	11	9	2	1905	14	3	11
1897 ..	37	23	14	1906	20	8	12
1898 ..	12	8	4	1907	39	15	24
1899 ..	11	5	6	1908	60	24	36
1900 ..	21	13	8	1909	57	24	33
1901 ..	33	20	13	1910	67	27	40
1902 ..	21	10	11	1911	92	57	35
1903 ..	17	8	9	1912	73	34	39
1904 ..	12	4	8	1913	99	53	46
* 5 months only				Total	696	345	351

*Cd. 5346 (1910), Cd. 5366 (1910), and Cd. 7658 (1914).

Analysed by industries, the following table shows the distribution for the years 1908-1913 :—

CASES DEALT WITH

	Building	Mining &c.	Metal.	Boot & Shoe.	Transport.	Textile.	Others.	Total.
1908..	23	4	10	8	2	5	8	60
1909..	15	13	9	7	2	3	8	57
1910..	14	7	13	10	3	7	13	67
1911..	13	4	19	8	21	9	18	92
1912..	10	2	19	8	12	4	18	73
1913..	31	5	19	11	8	5	20	99

Of the 696 cases during the period 1896-1913, there were applications from both parties in 417 (about 60 per cent.) cases, applications from workers only in 148 (over 20 per cent.) cases, and from employers only in 45 cases.

Not all Conciliation Boards and cases came under the 1896 Act, however, At the end of 1913 there were, altogether, 343 Permanent Boards in existence, including those not registered under the Act.

The activity of these Boards is shown in the following table :—

ALL PERMANENT CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION BOARDS

	Number of Boards in Existence.	Number of Boards which Con- sidered Cases.	Number of Boards which Settled Cases.	Number of Cases Considered	Number of Cases Settled.
1908 ..	272	115	83	1,842	807
1909 ..	290	124	101	1,997	1,025
1910 ..	296	109	96	1,971	1,087
1911 ..	301	126	105	4,543	3,548
1912 ..	311	164	136	3,083	2,138
1913 ..	343	195	159	4,070	2,574

Although the number of Boards in existence increased rapidly during the period 1908-1913, and the number of cases considered reached a total of over 4,000 in 1913, the proportion of workers in the whole of industry who were covered by this machinery was not very great. In 1913 three-quarters of the

number of disputes, involving over two-thirds of all workers directly affected, were settled by direct negotiation. The figures for several years are shown in the following table :—

DISPUTES SETTLED

	By Direct Negotiation.	By Arbitration.	By Conciliation.
1908..	251	24	33
1909..	271	28	37
1910..	359	26	34
1911..	653	21	85
1912..	633	22	68
1913..	1,153	24	127
WORKERS INVOLVED.			
1908..	55,967	7,675	150,166
1909..	75,794	19,773	59,986
1910..	191,718	8,939	163,549
1911..	283,763	13,705	514,260
1912..	286,438	13,046	59,462
1913..	376,884	15,232	97,288

The indirect effects of the Conciliation Boards may have been greater than these figures indicate; nevertheless, it is clear that this machinery had failed to provide a universal remedy for disputes and differences, and demands were put forward in some quarters for a measure of compulsory arbitration or conciliation on the Canadian or Australasian model. The general opinion, however, was against such an innovation, and although compulsory arbitration was enforced very largely during the war, the workers as a body remained hostile to the principle.

WAR PERIOD

There is no space to go into a detailed history of the Joint Council idea, which obtained a wide currency towards the end of the war and bore fruit in the Whitley Reports, but some mention of it must be made in order to explain later developments. The time was one of extraordinary optimism on the part of a large section of the nation, and it was imagined that goodwill between workers and employers was attainable with very little difficulty, and that, once attained, it would lead to the golden age of high profits and high wages. There were many who saw more clearly into the future, but the feeling was sufficiently strong to produce results in the shape of committees and schemes. Many who were sceptical joined in these schemes in the hope of grabbing something during the period of national intoxication. The theory was that although conciliation had not worked very successfully the reason was that when both sides came together the former antagonism and opposing interests remained; masters were still masters and workmen were still workmen. What was wanted was a new conception, employers and workers realising that their interests were identical, and meeting on a real Joint Council to work out a policy which should be advantageous to both parties. It would hardly be correct to infer that joint control was suggested. The employers never at any time seriously countenanced the idea that control

of industry or of any part of it should be shared with the workers. But the feeling in favour of workers' control had so grown in the ranks of Labour that some verbal concession was necessary. With this in view, and with the desire to reduce the antagonism that most naturally found expression in discussions on wages, the believers in harmony suggested that other subjects should be jointly discussed, even to the conduct of the industry itself, and other "managerial functions." The movement culminated in the appointment of the Whitley Committee, which ultimately recommended a rather more concrete embodiment of these views than their authors bargained for, and employers were, therefore, largely hostile. Labour, on the whole, welcomed the report; there was a section which really believed in a new dawn on the mountain tops, etc., a section which was thoroughly sceptical and would not touch the project, and a section which was also sceptical, but thought it might get something out of the situation.

The proposal was, briefly, that all industries should be provided with machinery for joint discussion with employers of all questions affecting the workers, the exact constitution and scope of each Joint Council being determined by the two parties in the industry.

For well-organised industries Joint Standing Industrial Councils were suggested consisting entirely of employers' and workers' representatives in equal numbers. For industries not so well organised joint committees were proposed, with representatives of the Ministry of Labour to assist, and for unorganised industries the Trade Board machinery was considered most suitable. The original proposals were somewhat modified later, but a number of Joint Councils (with District and Works Committees) were set up, and also a number of Interim Industrial Reconstruction Committees. The highly organised industries did not accept the proposals and the machinery which was intended for these sections was, in fact, chiefly applied to industries not very highly organised. This might have proved dangerous to the workers, but as it turned out the principal result was a good one—organisation was encouraged and made stronger. The hopes of those who had anticipated that the workers would get an insight into the conduct, administration and finance of their industries were unfortunately not realised, as the employers have hardly ever allowed these topics to be discussed or knowledge concerning them to be communicated.

It is perhaps too early to pass a final judgment on Whitleyism. On the one hand, organisation has undoubtedly been helped and some insight has been obtained in a few cases into administration, but the net results in improved conditions have not been great, and both employers and workers have given voice to a growing dissatisfaction with the system. The basic fact, after all, is that whereas there was formerly, in some instances at least, a genuine desire to discuss matters frankly and amicably, there is now no such desire, for while the workers were then in a strong bargaining position, they are now much less powerful. Whitley Councils are therefore degenerating into standing negotiating committees which may indeed be of service but which cannot carry out the aims of those who enthusiastically supported Whitleyism in 1918-19. Railwaymen originally opposed Whitleyism, but more recently they have adopted a scheme, under the Railways Act, 1921, which is very similar. Details of this plan are given later.

The number of Conciliation Boards, &c., similar to those in existence before 1914, continued to grow during the war and by July, 1919, there were 465 such Boards, as well as 46 Joint Standing Industrial Councils (Whitley Councils), 26 Interim Reconstruction Committees, the Trade Boards and the Agricultural Wages Boards already described, and the Maritime Boards, which are really Whitley Councils.*

* Full lists of these organisations are given in the official *Directory of Industrial and other Associations*, Cmd. 328.

The only other important development in machinery was that of the Industrial Courts Act, 1919, the provisions of which are described in a later chapter.

PRESENT POSITION

The existing voluntary machinery for negotiation between workers and employers, or for the settlement of disputes, comprises three main types, viz. :—

1. Joint Industrial Councils and Interim Reconstruction Committees.
2. Conciliation Boards.
3. Industrial Courts and Boards of Arbitration.

There are considerable variations, both in structure and procedure, among individual organisations in these main classes, but between the classes themselves there are some very important differences.

In the first place, a Whitley Council is intended to cover the whole of an industry, to be representative, in fact, of all employers and employees in the industry. Conciliation Boards may be, and are, set up for particular sections or districts, and are more limited in that their decisions may involve only a few of the employers and workers in the industry. This is more than a matter of extent. The Whitley machinery is a thought-out scheme of local, district and national joint organisations capable of covering the whole field, while Conciliation Boards are isolated pieces of machinery set up for one specific purpose. The object of a Conciliation Board, moreover, is to compose differences, while theoretically, at least, Whitley machinery emphasises agreement and common policy. Thus, if there were no disputes Conciliation Boards would cease to exist, while Whitley Councils would, theoretically, be set free for their really important work.

JOINT INDUSTRIAL COUNCILS

There are at present 70* Joint Standing Industrial Councils in existence and 32 Interim Industrial Reconstruction Committees. Since their formation 11 of the latter have been reconstituted as full Whitley Councils. There are, in addition to the foregoing, 93 other joint bodies on Whitley lines.

The total number of workers covered by the joint bodies of all kinds is about three and a half millions.

The main exceptions are miners, iron and steel workers, and cotton workers, all highly organised groups with elaborate machinery for negotiation already in existence. An indication of the activity of Whitley Councils on wage questions is seen in the fact that between December, 1919, and May, 1920, 46 national wage agreements were concluded by National Joint Industrial Councils.

The constitution and procedure of the Councils are left to the bodies themselves, but the universal rule is to have equal numbers of representatives of employers and workers, respectively, each side appointing a chairman and secretary. The employers' members are nominated by employers' associations, and the workers' members by the Trade Unions chiefly concerned in the industry.

For any decision there must be a majority on each side. In many cases each side meets separately prior to the joint meeting, and usually, though not invariably, the chairman of the employers' side acts as chairman of the full meeting, the chairman of the workers' side acting as vice-chairman.

A full list of Councils is set out in Appendix I., from which it will be seen that the principal industries covered are Building, Welsh Plate and Sheet, Wool and Allied Textiles, Hosiery, Silk, Furniture, Pottery, Chemicals, Matches, Baking and Flour Confectionery, Civil Service, Gas, Electricity,

* Of these 11 are for various reasons suspended.

Waterworks, Boot and Shoe, Road Transport, Printing, and (including in the term Whitley Councils the Maritime and Railway Councils recently set up) Railways and Sea Transport. The questions within the purview of a Whitley Council were summarised by the Whitley Committee in its Interim Report as follows:—

(i.) The better utilisation of the practical knowledge and experience of the workpeople.

(ii.) Means for securing to the workpeople a greater share in and responsibility for the determination and observance of the conditions under which their work is carried on.

(iii.) The settlement of the general principles governing the conditions of employment, including the methods of fixing, paying and readjusting wages, having regard to the need for securing to the workpeople a share in the increased prosperity of the industry.

(iv.) The establishment of regular methods of negotiation for issues arising between employers and workpeople, with a view both to the prevention of differences and to their better adjustment when they appear.

(v.) Means of ensuring to the workpeople the greatest possible security of earnings and employment without undue restriction upon change of occupation or employer.

(vi.) Methods of fixing and adjusting earnings, piecework prices, &c., and of dealing with the many difficulties which arise with regard to the method and amount of payment apart from the fixing of general standard rates which are already covered by paragraph (iii.).

(vii.) Technical education and training.

(viii.) Industrial research and the full utilisation of its results.

(ix.) The provision of facilities for the full consideration and utilisation of inventions and improvements designed by workpeople and for the adequate safeguarding of the rights of the designers of such improvements.

(x.) Improvements of processes, machinery and organisation and appropriate questions relating to management and the examination of industrial experiments, with special reference to co-operation in carrying new ideas into effect and full consideration of the workpeople's point of view in relation to them.

(xi.) Proposed legislation affecting the industry.

The emphasis which different Councils have placed on one or other of these objects varies somewhat, and, as might be expected, (iii.), (iv.) and (vi.) have most generally been the ones to receive the greatest attention. Object (v.) has been taken up in some cases, notably by the Wool and Building Councils, though their projects in connection therewith have not been adopted, while (vii.) and (viii.) have also received some attention. There has been the least enthusiasm on the part of the employers' side for objects (ii.) and (x.), though the Reorganisation Scheme carried through by the Civil Service Whitley Council deserves mention in this connection.

The actual work performed by the Councils has been summarised by the Ministry of Labour in the following general terms, which should be compared with the aims, already set out, as proposed by the Whitley Committee.

The main functions of Joint Industrial Councils are :—

1. To secure the largest possible measure of joint action between employers and workpeople for the development of the industry as a part of national life and for the improvement of the conditions of all engaged in that industry.

2. Regular consideration of wages, hours and working conditions in the industry as a whole.
3. The consideration of measures for regularising production and employment.
4. The consideration of the existing machinery for the settlement of differences between different parties and sections in the industry, and the establishment of machinery for this purpose, where it does not already exist, with the object of securing the speedy settlement of difficulties.
5. The consideration of measures for securing the inclusion of all employers and workpeople in their respective associations.
6. The collection of statistics and information on matters appertaining to the industry.
7. The encouragement of the study of processes and design and of research, with a view to perfecting the products of the industry.
8. The provision of facilities for the full consideration and utilisation of inventions and any improvement in machinery or method, and for the adequate safeguarding of the rights of the designers of such improvements, and to secure that such improvements in method or invention shall give to each party an equitable share of the benefits financially or otherwise arising therefrom.
9. Inquiries into special problems of the industry, including the comparative study of the organisation and methods of the industry in this and other countries, and, where desirable, the publication of reports. The arrangement of lectures and the holding of conferences on subjects of general interest to the industry.
10. The improvement of the health conditions obtaining in the industry, and the provision of special treatment, where necessary, for workers in the industry.
11. The supervision of entry into, and training for, the industry, and co-operation with the educational authorities in arranging education in all its branches for the industry.
12. The issue to the Press of authoritative statements upon matters affecting the industry of general interest to the community.
13. Representation of the needs and opinions of the industry to the Government, Government Departments, and other authorities.
14. The consideration of any other matters that may be referred to it by the Government or any Government Department.
15. The consideration of the proposals for District Councils and Works Committees put forward in the Whitley Report, having regard in each case to any such organisations as may already be in existence.
16. Co-operation with the Joint Industrial Councils for other industries to deal with problems of common interest.

To some of these questions certain Councils have devoted much thought and valuable reports have been prepared.

The Building Industrial Council, for example, has prepared a scheme dealing with apprenticeship and education. This report deals with education in its primary and secondary stages, with provision of scholarships, with the formation of Juvenile Advisory Committees, etc. The Education Committee of the Council has made great efforts to secure the application of this scheme.

The Councils for the Boot and Shoe, Silk, Wire Drawing, Printing and Quarrying industries have each co-operated with the Home Office in working Welfare and Safety schemes, while schemes have also been adopted in this connection by the Councils of the Pottery, Building and Electricity Supply Industries.

An important feature in the development of Insurance against Unemployment has been the formulation of special industry schemes under the Act of 1920, a number of which have been due to Whitley Councils, notably the Wool Textile, Hosiery, and Printing Schemes, none of which are in operation, however, owing to the temporary suspension of the "contracting out" provisions.

Several Councils have presented reports on Workmen's Compensation, among them being the Building, Match, Rubber, and Spelter Councils.

Works Committees have also been very active in many cases.

The question of extending the operation of decisions to the whole of an industry, making them compulsory in all cases, is referred to elsewhere in connection with the general topic of Collective Agreements. The Conference of Joint Industrial Councils and Reconstruction Committees held on March 18, 1921, adopted a resolution calling upon the Government to introduce legislation giving the Minister of Labour power to make agreements reached by the above bodies binding upon the whole of the industry.

Activity in the matter of wage-fixing has been left to the last because it has been the most important from the point of view of tangible accomplishment. Nothing new or revolutionary has transpired from the efforts of practically every Council to find an agreed formula for the regulation of wages and hours. The old lines have been followed in almost every case, and although many have negotiated agreements for Sliding Scales based on Cost of Living, this method was not invented by a Whitley Council. The adoption of such Sliding Scales and their subsequent operation have constituted the most important work of many Councils, and the negotiation of wage agreements has been successfully carried through by most of the others on a basis which was familiar before 1914.

The number of Sliding Scale agreements negotiated by Whitley Councils has been about a dozen out of the seventy or eighty such agreements in operation.

They include the scales in the following industries :—

Wool, Hosiery, Carpet, Cable Making, Cooperage, Paper, Baking (Scotland), Civil Service, Tramways and Waterworks. Details will be found in the section on Sliding Scales.

In some cases wages and hours, etc., have been passed on to some other body or left to the older machinery of negotiation, the Whitley Council confining itself to the less contentious of the topics mentioned on an earlier page.

In Building there is a Joint Industrial Council and also a National Wages and Conditions Council, and in the case of Railways there are Joint Councils and also Central and National Wages Boards, though in the latter case the Councils have certain functions in regard to wage settlements also.

On the other hand the National Maritime Council, which is described as an Industrial Council for the Shipping Industry, is restricted in its objects to the consideration of working conditions, the conditions of employment and registration, and the adjustment of differences.

Summing up, we may say that while, as an instrument of negotiation, the Whitley Council has not provided us with any very new feature or with any striking advance upon the older machinery, there are two directions in which it has encouraged and extended some desirable features of an ordinary negotiating body. In the first place it has brought together for joint action unions catering for similar classes of labour or classes common to one industry. In this way unnecessary barriers between unions have broken down and the process of amalgamation, so desirable on grounds of power and economy, has

been hastened. We cannot yet fully appreciate all that has been done in this connection, but the mere existence of a body negotiating for practically all workers in an industry is an achievement. For instance, the Building industry has its Joint Industrial Council, the workers' side of which represents the following unions :—

Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, National Amalgamated Society of Operative House and Ship Painters and Decorators, Operative Stonemasons' Society, United Operative Plumbers and Domestic Engineers' Association, National Association of Operative Plasterers, National Association of Builders' Labourers, Operative Bricklayers' Society, and a number of others.

The Whitley Council for the Electrical Cable Industry has brought together the National Amalgamated Union of Labour; the Workers' Union; the Amalgamated Society of India Rubber, Cable, and Asbestos Workers; the National Union of General Workers; and the Electrical Trades Union.

So, in every case, common action and joint consultation have been encouraged in a way which would have been impossible, perhaps, by any other means.

The second advance is in the fact that Whitley Councils are standing Councils, and are not merely called together when a dispute occurs. A process of more or less continuous bargaining is thus obtained, one result being the elimination of vexatious delays and a more sensitive response to the changes in opinion. This is not an unmixed benefit, however, as it is possible that a species of co-operation with employers may be brought about which tends to impair the solidarity of the working-class movement generally.

Conciliation and other Committees

There is a much greater variety in constitution, composition, and procedure in the case of these bodies than in Whitley machinery. Every section of the workers has its own peculiar problems and difficulties, and the type of negotiating body set up is the result of numerous influences and of the continual readjustment of organisation to practical necessities, rather than a machine-made scheme which has been previously thought out to the last detail. In some industries recourse is had to permanent committees for negotiation whenever a difference occurs; in others there are no permanent bodies, but *ad hoc* committees are set up for each dispute; while in others, again, reference is only made to a permanent or *ad hoc* body after attempts to reach a settlement by direct negotiation have failed. In some cases a hierarchy of organisations is set up, so that if agreement is found impossible on the first committee an appeal can be made to a higher body, while in others a failure to agree leads to arbitration, the decision then being final. As almost every organisation is different from every other, it is impossible to classify and summarise them more precisely. The same broad features are found in a majority of cases: equal numbers of employers' and workers' representatives; an impartial chairman; recourse to arbitration as a final way out, in which case there may be one or more neutral persons whose decision is binding, or else the final recourse is to the strike or lock-out, if agreement fails and no provision is made for arbitration. In many cases joint bodies are hardly distinguishable from joint meetings, which are the usual accompaniment of direct negotiations. Where an important union and a large employers' federation are concerned, the same officials meet each time there are direct negotiations, and the same result is achieved as if there were a Standing Joint Conciliation Committee. Many schemes provide for reference to permanent Joint Committees following a failure to agree by negotiation between the officials. It seems best, therefore, to treat direct negotiation and "conciliation" together.

DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS

In most cases a dispute is first taken up by direct interchange of views between the officials of the union and the officials of the employer. The procedure thereafter in case of disagreement varies considerably, but in a number of instances the area of conference is by degrees widened until the central committees of the employers' federation and the trade union, or trade union group, meet to give a final decision (or to disagree, in which case there may be recourse to arbitration or to a stoppage). Thus there is no real dividing line nowadays between conciliation machinery and direct negotiations; each merges imperceptibly into the other, and many schemes include both.

The real point of difference seems to lie in the personnel of the conferring parties. We may have conference between—

1. The persons concerned (or their representatives);
2. Persons engaged in the same industry but not directly concerned;
Or reference to
3. Persons entirely outside the industry (arbitration).

Local disputes are generally settled by (1) or (2), and sometimes by (3).

National disputes are settled by (1) or (3).

Method (1) includes Whitley Councils, Conciliation Boards, and direct negotiations, the difference being (apart from those already mentioned) one of extent mainly.

ARBITRATION

Arbitration is rarely resorted to except when other means have failed, in which case there may be a permanent Board or the parties may agree upon an arbitrator or arbitrators or the Ministry of Labour may appoint one or more persons at the request of the parties.

An important development within recent years has been the machinery set up under the Industrial Courts Act, 1919. That this Act was passed is in itself an admission that the existing Boards of Arbitration and Conciliation had failed to effect any real improvement in industrial relations. There was already ample provision for all who wished to submit a dispute to arbitration, but the Industrial Courts Act went a step farther in making its scope much wider and its power more far-reaching. Two distinct methods are provided in case of a dispute, actual or apprehended. If both parties agree the case is heard before the Industrial Court, but if neither, or only one, of the parties is willing to adopt this course, the Minister of Labour has power to order an Inquiry. Whether the case is heard by an Industrial Court or by an Inquiry, the findings are not legally binding upon either side, though in the former case the decision is generally observed.

The machinery consists of a Standing Industrial Court consisting of independent persons (one of whom is always Chairman), employers' representatives, and workers' representatives, all nominated by the Minister of Labour. In addition there are to be one or more women members. For each case the President of the Court nominates such members as he thinks fit. During the hearing witnesses may be called, and either side may be called upon to produce evidence in support of its assertions. If there is disagreement the Chairman may act as umpire. Where conciliation machinery already exists a dispute is not, except by consent of both parties, referred to the Industrial Court, unless it has already been before such a Board and no agreement has been reached. Instead of referring the matter to the Industrial Court, the Minister may, provided both parties consent, refer it to some other arbitration board comprised either of persons appointed by himself or of representatives of each side, with a neutral chairman.

In addition to its judicial functions the Industrial Court furnishes, at the Minister's request, advice regarding disputes or any matter arising out of a dispute.

In the case of an Inquiry under the Act there may be minority reports.

Considerable use has already been made of the Act, and one or two cases of national importance have been adjudicated upon by the Industrial Court, notably the Dockers' dispute in February, 1920, and the Engineering Lock-out in May, 1922. The great value of these Inquiries lies in the publicity they receive; details of costs and profits are dragged into the light of day, and public opinion is thereby influenced.

A similar result followed the inquiry into the Mining industry in 1919. This took place before the Industrial Courts Act was passed, under a special Act, the Coal Industry Commission Act (Feb. 26th, 1919). The Commission was empowered to inquire into every detail relevant to the conduct of the industry or to the workers' conditions, and the resulting publicity provided the most damaging attack ever made in this country on any body of employers.

The Civil Service Arbitration Board was also an important body during the period of its existence, 1918-1922, as it was the last court of appeal for State employees in general when other means had failed to produce agreement. The abolition of the Board early in 1922 caused keen resentment among Government employees, as there is now no appeal from Departmental or Treasury decisions.

CHAPTER IV

PRESENT ORGANISATION OF NEGOTIATING MACHINERY AND INTER-UNION ACTION

As few, if any, Unions confine themselves to one type of negotiating machinery it will probably be more useful to describe the customary methods adopted by the more important groups of workers rather than to attempt classification, which would only be misleading.

Moreover, it is necessary in the same connection to indicate how far Unions catering for similar classes of workers take counsel together before and during negotiations. Many Unions have formal agreements to consult each other, and there is frequently a permanent joint body or federation for this purpose. Many Unions have informal consultations whenever matters of joint interest arise, and others again have no common policy or joint action at all. While the account is necessarily brief it is thought that sufficient information is given to show the general state of affairs.

Agriculture

The two Unions principally concerned in organising agricultural workers are the National Union of Agricultural Workers and the Workers' Union. Discussions and conferences between the two organisations take place from time to time, though there is no permanent machinery for joint action.

Negotiations with employers take place through the medium of District Conciliation Committees, set up in accordance with Section 4 of the Corn Production Acts (Repeal) Act, 1921. In March, 1922, there were 61 such committees in existence.

Boot and Shoe

The Midlands Boot and Shoe Industry is represented by the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives for the workers, and the Incorporated Federated Association of Boot and Shoe Manufacturers for the employers. Joint action with other Unions only enters in connection with the Cord-wainers, with whom the above Union has an unofficial understanding. Negotiation with employers is carried on directly by the Executive of the Union as far as national questions are concerned, and there are also district Conciliation and Arbitration Boards.

The Rossendale Boot, Shoe and Slipper Industry is a small localised branch of the trade, and the Rossendale Union of Boot, Shoe and Slipper Operatives carries on its own direct negotiations with the employers' association. Failing agreement between the officials there is a Joint Board meeting, five members being chosen from each executive.

In the Boot and Shoe repairing trade there are two Unions which have a joint committee, meeting quarterly in normal circumstances, the policy there determined being submitted to the membership of each Union for ratification.

Building

Organisation has greatly improved in the Building Industry during recent years. There are still a large number of separate Unions, but much progress has been made towards a unification of forces. The National Federation of Building Trades Operatives provides machinery for joint consultation and action, the governing body consisting of two members of the executive of each National Union affiliated, for a membership up to 20,000, with an additional member for each additional 20,000 or part thereof. For negotiation with employers there are two bodies, the Whitley Council (Building Trade Parliament) dealing with questions other than Wages, Hours, etc., and the National Wages and Conditions Council, the objects of which are to draw up agreements dealing with Rates of Wages, Grading, Expenses capable of National adjustment, Working Hours, and Overtime and Night Work. The Council consists of not more than 40 members, 20 being drawn from each side, and if no agreement is reached recourse is had to arbitration provided both sides consent. The Unions represented include the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers, Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, National Federation of Building Trade Operatives, National Amalgamated Society of Operative House and Ship Painters and Decorators, and many others. The employers' side includes the National Federation of Building Trade Employers, National Federation of Master Painters and Decorators, National Association of Master Plasterers and National Federation of Slate Merchants, Slaters and Tilers. On both the Whitley Council for the industry and on the National Wages and Conditions Council there are also representatives of General Labour Unions.

Distributive Trades

The National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers has a tentative agreement with the Shop Assistants' Union for joint action wherever there is common membership, and in addition the Unions concerned have members on several Whitley Councils and Interim Industrial Reconstruction Committees.

Negotiation with employers, when it is not carried on through Whitley Councils, proceeds directly with individual employers, Co-operative Societies, etc. Co-operative agreements are frequently concluded through the Sectional Councils of Hours and Wages Boards or District Hours and Wages Boards. There is also a Trade Board for a section of the workers.

Food Trades

The Operative Bakers, Confectioners and Allied Workers' Union negotiates directly with the employers' association, and as there is only the one Union for Baking Trades the question of co-operation does not arise.

The Journeymen Butchers' Federation also negotiates directly with individual employers and Co-operative Societies, or through local Butchers' Associations, or District Butchers' Federations or Committees, or through District Hours and Wages Boards (Co-operative).

The Union has an agreement with the Vehicle Workers' Union in regard to Smithfield Market.

Metal—Engineering, etc.

By the York Agreement of 17 April, 1914, the Amalgamated Engineering Union and the Engineering Employers' Federation undertook to discuss differences first locally and then, if no agreement was reached, by means of a Central Conference. Co-operation between other engineering Unions is obtained through the Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades Federation, but the A.E.U. is not affiliated to this body, though joint meetings are occasionally held. There is therefore no permanent machinery by which all the numerous Unions in the industry can co-operate for consultation and action. The Association of Engineering and Shipbuilding Draughtsmen is similarly without means of co-operating with other non-manual organisations in the industry, and it negotiates on its own account with employers.

In the Light Castings Trade and in Ironfounding there are a number of Unions, some of which are affiliated to the Joint Committee of Light Metal Trade Unions and some to the National Federation of Foundry Unions. Both bodies, and also individual Unions such as the Central Ironmoulders' Association and the Patternmakers, negotiate with the National Light Castings Ironfounders' Association.

The Joint Committee includes the Central Ironmoulders' Association, the National Union of Stove and Grate, etc., Workers, the Amalgamated Moulders' Union, the National Union of Operative Heating, Domestic Engineers, etc., the Rotherham Stove, Grate and Fender Grinders' Union, and the General Iron Fitters' Union. Some of these Unions are also affiliated to the National Federation of Foundry Unions.

There are a large number of other Metal Unions which negotiate directly with employers and which do not generally co-operate with the other organisations already mentioned.

Metal—Iron and Steel Manufacture

The Iron and Steel Trades Confederation is the principal organisation concerned in the industry. If local officials fail to agree when a matter arises for discussion, the question is referred to a neutral committee consisting of two employers and two workers representing works not concerned in the difference, together with an official from each side. Failing agreement, the matter is then referred to a conference between the two national organisations, or finally to arbitration.

In some cases there are wage boards, such as the Midland Iron and Steel Wages Board, in which case matters not agreed upon locally are dealt with by a Standing Committee of the Board concerned.

There is no general permanent arrangement for joint action with other Unions, but in certain cases this is done. In the S. Wales Tinplate and Sheet Trade there is a Whitley Council, with representatives of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, the Dockers' Union, the Tin and Sheet Millmen's Association, the Gas Workers' and General Labourers' Union, the Amalgamated Engineering Union, and the Welsh Artizans' Association.

In the South Wales Iron and Steel Trade there is a joint agreement providing for negotiating machinery similar to that outlined above, but, in addition to the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, the signatories include the South Wales Blastfurnacemen; Workers' Union; National Union of General Workers; Iron, Steel and Metal Dressers' Society; and the National Union of Enginemen, Firemen and Mechanics, and Electrical Workers.

There are also District Boards of Conciliation and Arbitration, matters being referred to a Standing Committee if not settled locally.

The National Union of Blastfurnacemen, Ore Miners, Coke Workers and Kindred Trades negotiates directly with the Ironmasters, and arbitration is resorted to if other means fail.

Metal—Gold, Silver and Allied Trades

The National Union of Gold, Silver and Allied Trades negotiates with the employers through District Joint Conferences.

Coal Mining

Although negotiations are still largely national, through the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, there is no longer a national basis for alterations in wages as there was for a time during Government control of the industry. By the terms of the settlement of the lock-out in 1921, District Wages Boards are set up and wages are determined on a district basis, subject to a national minimum. The Miners' Federation does not cover the entire body of workers in and about the mines, and the few other small unions which exist have apparently no machinery for joint consultation and action with the larger organisation.

Printing

There is a Whitley Council in the Printing Industry, but this body, to which all the Unions are affiliated, does not, apparently, deal with wage questions, which are negotiated directly between the Unions and the employers concerned. The Printing and Kindred Trades Federation provides joint machinery for co-operation on questions not concerning wages. There is apparently no joint action, generally speaking, on wages. Several agreements are in force, however, to which more than one Union is a party. Otherwise the National Society of Operative Printers and Assistants, the Typographical Association, the Printing Machine Managers' Trade Society, the London Society of Compositors, and other Unions negotiate separately with the Master Printers, Newspaper Proprietors' Association, etc.

There is a separate Whitley Council for the Process Engraving Trade, but the principal Union, the Amalgamated Society of Lithographic Artists, Designers, Engravers, and Process Workers, is also affiliated to the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation, and through it to the Whitley Council for the Printing Industry.

Public Services

In the case of Civil Servants, Postal Workers, etc., the various Unions negotiate, on matters concerning only their own members, with the Department concerned. If several grades of workers are concerned, the subject is discussed through the appropriate Departmental Whitley Council, or, if the entire Civil Service is affected, the National Civil Service Whitley Council.

Practically all Unions catering for Postal Workers of every grade are, for example, represented on the Post Office Whitley Council, and joint action is thus secured. In addition, a case can be put in Parliament during debates on the Estimates, and a Select Committee may be appointed to inquire into the matter. Before the day of Whitley Councils this was frequently done in the case of the Post Office. For co-operation between Unions there is the machinery of the Civil Service Confederation, a federation of all Civil Service Unions except the large Post Office organisations. The Union of Post Office Workers and the Post Office Engineering Union, which cover all except the supervising grades, have a Standing Joint Committee and also unofficial understandings with the Supervising Union.

Municipal Services

There is a Joint Industrial Council, with local councils, for the discussion of all matters affecting the workers in Gas, Electricity, Water, Non-Trading Manual Workers, Technical and Clerical sections. The Tramways Industry has its own Whitley Council.

Asylum Workers

There is a Joint Conciliation Board on which the National Asylum Workers' Union represents the workers and the Mental Hospitals Association the employers. The above-named Union does not recognise any other organisation for asylum workers.

Transport—Railways

Negotiations are now conducted through Joint Boards, failing agreement between the groups immediately concerned. The first of the Joint Boards for wages, etc., is the Central Wages Board, consisting of eight representatives of the Companies; four representatives of the National Union of Railwaymen; two of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen; and two of the Railway Clerks' Association. Appeal from this body is to the National Wages Board, consisting of six representatives of the Companies; two representatives of the National Union of Railwaymen; two of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen; and two of the Railway Clerks' Association; together with four representatives of users of railways, one being nominated by each of the following:—General Council of the Trades Union Congress, Co-operative Union, Association of British Chambers of Commerce, Federation of British Industries. There is a neutral chairman, nominated by the Ministry of Labour.

In addition, there is a Railway Council, for each Company, consisting of representatives of employers and workers. The function of these Councils and of their sectional councils includes the application of agreements, recruitment, operating efficiency, welfare, etc.

Transport—Road

The Unions concerned discuss matters directly with the employers and there does not seem to be any provision for co-operation between the workers' organisations. The Transport and General Workers' Union and the United Road Transport Workers' Association have jointly concluded agreements with employers, but there is no permanent machinery for joint action. In Scotland there is a Whitley Council for the industry, by means of which negotiations are carried on and co-operation between the Unions secured.

Transport—Sea

All classes of seafarers are covered by the National Maritime Board, which is a Joint Industrial Council for the Shipping Industry. There are separate panels for navigating officers, engineering officers, sailors and firemen, and catering staff, as well as a panel for Masters.

Each panel consists of twelve representatives elected by the Shipping Federation and the Employers' Association of the Port of Liverpool, jointly, and twelve elected by the workers' organisations. In the case of Sailors and Firemen, they are elected by the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union and the Hull Seamen's Union. The objects of the National Maritime Board are the prevention and adjustment of differences, the establishment of national standard rates and conditions, establishment of single source of supply of sailors and firemen jointly controlled by employers and employed.

It should be noted that several important Unions are not connected with the National Maritime Board. Between these Unions and the Sailors' and Firemen's Union acute differences exist.

For co-operation between Unions concerned in shipping there is a Seafarers' Joint Council representing the Imperial Merchant Service Guild, Mercantile Marine Service Association, Marine Engineers' Association, Amalgamated Engineering Union, National Sailors and Firemen's Union, Hull Seamen's Union, United Kingdom Pilots' Association, Association of Wireless

Telegraphists, Ship Constructors and Shipwrights' Association, United Operative Plumbers and Domestic Engineers' Association, and the Boilermakers and Iron and Steel Shipbuilders.

Dock Labour.—Negotiations with employers and joint action of Unions is secured through the National Joint Council for Dock and Waterside Labour.

Coal Trimmers

The Coal Trimmers' Union has a Bristol Channel Area Board for negotiation and there is a National Board representing all coal-trimming interests.

Textiles

Cotton.—The usual procedure, failing agreement between the local officials, is to refer a difference to a local joint committee consisting of equal numbers of employers' and workers' representatives. If there is still no agreement the dispute is referred to a Central Joint Conference representing the executives on each side.

The Amalgamated Association of Card and Blowing Room Operatives follows this course, and other unions similarly with slight variations. Co-operation between the workers is secured through the Northern Counties Textile Trades Federation, to which, however, the Spinners and Cardroom Amalgamations are not affiliated. The two latter bodies have joint meetings occasionally.

There is also the United Textile Factory Workers' Association, to which most of the craft amalgamations are affiliated. Its functions are mainly political.

Wool.

There is a Joint Industrial Council for the Wool and Allied Trades, and through this negotiations are conducted and co-operation is secured between the Unions concerned. There is also a National Association of Unions in the Textile Trade, practically all the Unions in the industry being affiliated, and this organisation provides permanent machinery for joint consultation and action.

Dyeing, Bleaching and Finishing

There is a Joint Committee of all Unions in this trade, and through this body all negotiations are conducted with employers. Failing agreement, there is a Joint Reference Board. The Bleachers and Dyers' Amalgamation is affiliated to the United Textile Factory Workers' Association.

Hosiery.—For the Hosiery Industry there is a Joint Industrial Council, through which discussions are conducted on behalf of the Unions in different districts where the trade is localised. There is a federation of these Unions for consultation and common action.

Lace

The Nottingham Lace Trade has a Joint Conciliation Board.

There is a British Lace Operatives' Federation, which includes the Nottingham and the Scottish lace workers..

MISCELLANEOUS

Vehicle Building

The Amalgamated Society of Railway Vehicle Builders, Wheelwrights, Carpenters and Mechanics negotiates directly with employers, and there is a Joint Committee with other Unions in the same industry. The National Union of Vehicle Builders is in the same position.

Barge Building.—The Barge Builders' Trade Union has no method of co-operating with other Unions. Discussion is with employers directly.

Leather Manufacture.—Joint Conferences are held with employers. The National Leather Trades Federation provides machinery for co-operation, and there is also a working arrangement between the Federation and the General Workers.

Life Assurance.—Direct negotiations with employers. There is no arrangement for joint action on the part of different Unions.

Furnishing.—Direct negotiations with employers. There are Joint Committees in all towns where other Unions cater for similar classes of workers.

Clothing (Tailors and Garment Workers)

Direct negotiations with employers' association, and in some cases subsequent ratification by Trade Boards when rates are made legally binding. There is now no arrangement for co-operation with other Unions, though such arrangement existed at one time.

Cigar Making.—Direct negotiations with employers in respect of workers not covered by Trade Boards.

Cooperage.—National Joint Industrial Council for the cooperage trade.

Brushmaking.—The trade is covered by the Brush and Broom Trade Board. There is a federation of societies in the Brushmaking Industry, including National Society of Brushmakers, Painting Brush Makers' Provident Society, and Bone Brush Makers' Society.

Women Workers.—The Women's Section of the National Union of General Workers negotiates through Trade Boards, Whitley Councils, Reconstruction Committees and directly with employers. Whenever other Unions are affected joint conferences take place.

CONCLUSION

From the foregoing outline it will be seen that there is no uniformity of practice in most industries or in most Trade Unions. The machinery of negotiation is often complicated and is very seldom of one type only, even in a single Trade Union, while in some instances Unions apparently have recourse to every type that exists; circumstances evidently determine which method shall be used. In the most highly organised Unions, such as the Miners', Railwaymen's, Textile and Iron and Steel Organisations, there is a clearly defined sequence, failure at one stage leading automatically to a further prescribed stage. The attempt to secure uniformity of rates and conditions is obviously hampered in other cases by the multiplicity of organisations, acting in many cases without co-operation, and approaching employers in different ways. Undoubtedly there has been a tendency towards unification of forces through federations and working agreements, as well as through Trade Boards and Whitley Councils, but there is still a large field over which such co-operation does not exist, or exists only in a very imperfect form.

While federation may secure joint consultation, and even a common policy, it does not always result in a simplification of negotiating machinery, as does amalgamation.

The worst results follow where Unions have no kind of joint conference with each other, as in these cases not only are rates and conditions likely to vary chaotically from place to place, but the entire machinery of negotiation is demoralised and one section is played off against another.

CHAPTER V

COLLECTIVE AGREEMENTS

As industrial organisation becomes more perfect, the operation of collective agreements becomes more widespread and more important.

In 1910 there were no less than 1,696 agreements in force, covering directly about two and a half million workers, and indirectly many more. These agreements include awards of arbitration and conciliation boards, but not, as a rule, "single firm agreements."

The distribution of agreements according to industries is given in the following table :—

1910.

	Number of Agree- ments in Force.	Number of Workpeople.
Mining and Quarrying	56	900,000
Transport.. .. .	92	500,000
Textiles	113	460,000
Metal, including Engineering.	163	230,000
Building	803	200,000
Clothing	303	50,000
Printing	79	40,000
Others	87	20,000
 Total	 1,696	 2,400,000

It will be noted that while in Mining and Quarrying the average number of workers covered by each agreement was about 16,000, the average number to each agreement in the Clothing Industry was only about 165. The disparity, when we consider individual cases, is much more striking, for while the three most important affected in the aggregate nearly a million workers, there were a large number which covered only comparatively few persons. In the Building Industry it was common to find agreements affecting only 15 or 20 workers.

The total number of workers directly covered by the 1,696 agreements represented only about one-fourth of the total number employed in the United Kingdom. The subjects dealt with included practically all working conditions as well as questions concerning the conduct of the industry, restrictions on employment, demarcation, etc. Detailed statistics have not been published since 1910, but it is well known that the number of agreements and the number of workers covered by them have very largely increased. This is but natural in view of the enormous increase in Trade Union membership, from two and a half millions in 1910 to six and a half millions in 1921.

In 1912 the Industrial Council was asked by the Government to conduct an inquiry into industrial agreements, particularly on the following points :—

- (a) What is the best method of securing the due fulfilment of Industrial Agreements.
- (b) How far, and in what manner, Industrial Agreements, which are made between representative bodies of employers and of workmen, should be enforced throughout a particular trade or district.

The Council in its report deprecated anything more than moral pressure to secure fulfilment of agreements, and recommended that under certain conditions agreements should be extended to the whole of a trade or district concerned. Quite recently this last suggestion has been revived, so far as Joint Industrial Councils are concerned, and it would seem desirable that the question should be examined again in the light of present conditions. In this memorandum the subject is not discussed, as there is need for further inquiry into the attitude of Trade Unions in this matter.

EXTENT OF AGREEMENTS

Apart from compulsory extension to parts of a trade or district not covered by the original agreement, there are many cases of an entire trade or district governed by one agreement, both sides having been consenting parties. The tendency on the workers' side has been, generally speaking, to secure an agreement covering as wide an area as possible. Where practicable a national agreement has been arrived at (i.e., an agreement covering the whole industry in whatever part of the country workers may be). It is obvious that only a high degree of organisation on both sides makes this possible, and even in the best cases there will be a number of firms not members of the employers' organisation or not parties to the settlement. Nevertheless, national agreements have been secured which cover practically all workers in the industry all over the country. Where an industry is localised, such a "national" agreement will be more easily obtained provided both sides are well organised. One of the best known cases is that of the cotton trade, which has for many years been governed by collective agreements covering the entire industry in the Lancashire area. It is interesting to note, however, that even this is not a "watertight" case, as the small cotton industry of the West of England (Bristol) is not included, nor are the workers organised in or affiliated to the Lancashire Textile Unions.

In setting out the present position, three types of agreement have been distinguished, viz., local, district and national. Few Unions are confined to one or other of these types, of course, and those Unions which insist most on national agreements are quite willing to enter into more restricted settlements if circumstances necessitate such a course. As far as wages, hours and other of the more important working conditions are concerned, however, an attempt is made always to keep negotiations on a national or, if that is impossible, a district basis. Where national agreements are secured it does not follow that wages, etc., are identical for all parts of the country, though an approximate equality is aimed at in most cases. There is a divergence of opinion on this point among the workers generally, some holding that there should be a national flat rate for workers of the same grade, others maintaining that differences should be made to allow for the different cost of living in various parts of the country. It is probable that there would be general agreement to the proposition that there should be a flat rate of *real wages* for all workers of the same grade all over the country, provided reliable cost of living statistics were available. As it is, some Unions negotiate for, and obtain, flat rates of nominal wages, some have two rates (London and Provincial), and some have more or less elaborate classification schemes, grading towns and rural areas in a number of classes, according to their estimated position as regards the cost of living. Such classification schemes almost invariably lead to dissatisfaction and to the demand for a national rate. The tendency seems to be to make the number of areas fewer and fewer, though it is probable that London will always be considered as a special case. Although the actual rates in different areas may not be identical, there is, if they have been negotiated on a national basis, some

considered relation between them. When negotiations and agreements are on a district basis there is not the same relation. Miners' wages vary from district to district because the industry is more profitable in one than it is in another. Railwaymen's wages vary in different parts of the country because of an assumed difference in the cost of living. They have both been negotiated on a national basis, though there is not a national rate of wages. Agricultural workers, on the other hand, have now to negotiate on a district basis, and the rates have no direct relation to the cost of living or to any factor save the strength of the respective organisations. When the Agricultural Wages Board was in existence and wages were settled on a national basis (but with district rates), Berkshire, Bucks, Cornwall, Derbyshire, Devonshire, Dorset, Hants, Herefordshire, and nine other counties all had uniform rates, namely, 46s. per week for all classes of workers (from August 23rd, 1920). The present rates, negotiated on a district basis since the abolition of the Wages Board, are Cornwall 34s. per week, Derbyshire 36s. per week, Devon 34s. per week, Dorset 32s. per week, Hants 32s. per week, and there are several others, including Berkshire, Bucks and Herefordshire, with no district rates, but where the farmers have offered 30s. per week (March, 1922). Similar differences have resulted in the number of hours worked per week.

In other cases again, owing to organisation being imperfect or to special circumstances connected with the industry, negotiations are still on a local basis and agreements are in force over only a small area. It is impossible to define local as distinct from district agreements, but it is usual to employ the latter term when an area at least as large as a county is involved.

Information received from Trade Unions indicates that local agreements dealing with the most important working conditions are now comparatively rare, and that national negotiations (including in the term negotiations covering practically the whole of a localised industry), with or without uniform rates and conditions, are common. The following analysis does not pretend to be exhaustive, but a representative amount of information has, it is believed, been collected.

NATIONAL AGREEMENTS

The principal Unions which have concluded national agreements are in the following industries and services:—

Building, Civil Service (and Public Services), Mining, Printing, Transport, Textiles, Boot and Shoe, Metal, General Labour.

Building

The Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers is a party to the National Wages and Conditions Council for the Building Trades. Negotiations are on a national basis, but wages vary, the country being divided into districts, and the districts into grades. In cases where employers are members of a local Employers' Association and/or not members of the National Federation of Building Trade Employers, and not otherwise parties to the National Wages and Conditions Council, wages are determined by local or district negotiation.

The Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, the National Amalgamated Society of Operative House and Ship Painters and Decorators, the National Association of Plasterers, Granolithic and Cement Workers, and the Amalgamated Slaters' Society of Scotland are also among the parties to the National Wages and Conditions Council, and are governed by the above arrangements.

Public Services

The Civil Service, Postal Workers (and other established employees of the State, such as the Royal Parks Employees) and also Asylum Workers, have their conditions determined by national negotiation. Wages vary according to the classification of the office in case of Postal Workers (see chapter on Sliding Scales), and in the case of Asylum Workers there are two rates, Urban and Rural, the former being 2s. per week higher than the latter.

Mining and Quarrying

Negotiations are national, and until recently additions to base rates were national, though the base rates themselves varied from place to place. A reversion has now been made, despite the opposition of the workers, to district settlements, so that rates vary enormously in different parts of the country. Slate quarrying is a localised industry and settlements are in this sense "national," the North Wales Quarrymen's Union being the only union in question, and rates being uniform throughout the area.

Printing

The Typographical Association and the National Society of Operative Printers and Assistants have concluded national wage agreements, based on a division of provincial areas into six grades, Grade I. consisting of two towns only (Liverpool and Manchester), Grade II. of 11 towns, Grade III. of 75 towns, Grade IV. of 53 towns, Grade V. of 63 towns, and Grade VI. of 78 towns.

The Amalgamated Society of Lithographic Artists, Designers, Engravers and Process Workers has also national agreements, Provincial time wages being about 5s. per week less than London rates.

The Printing Machine Managers' Trade Society, on the other hand, negotiates on a district basis, and the London Society of Compositors covers only its own locality, so that it cannot be said that printing workers are entirely covered by national agreements.

Transport

Conditions on the railways are settled by national negotiations, failing agreement with the companies individually. There are Central and National Wages Boards for this purpose, set up under Part 4 of the Railways Act, 1921. Rates are not uniform, there being three classes, namely London, Industrial areas, and Rural areas, each with its own scale.

Dock and Waterside Labour, and Seafarers have negotiated on a national basis, the former through the National Joint Council for Dock and Waterside Labour, the latter through the National Maritime Board. Coal Trimmers have also a national agreement.

In Road Transport there are Joint Industrial (District) Councils, and for the Tramway Services there is a National Joint Industrial Council. Thus, in the case of carters, motormen, etc., negotiations are generally not on a national basis, though there have been national agreements as far as Scotland is concerned; while for Tramway Workers there is a national agreement. Wages in all cases vary in different parts of the country, as there have generally been national increases on varying pre-war rates.

Boot and Shoe

In the Boot and Shoe Industry there are national agreements covering general conditions, though there are also local agreements fixing prices for statements. Rates therefore vary from place to place. The Rossendale Boot, Shoe and Slipper Operatives have agreements covering their own localised industry.

Textiles

In the case of Cotton, which is almost entirely confined to the Lancashire district, certain agreements cover the whole industry in that district.

In the Woollen Industry negotiations are generally on a national basis through the National Wool and Allied Textile Industrial Council. Wales and the West of England, however, have their own district committees and arrive at their own decisions regarding wages in their districts, with confirmation by the Industrial Council.

Metal

The Amalgamated Engineering Union conducts both national and district negotiations, and wages vary in different parts of the country, owing to basic rates being different.

Ironmoulders, Machine Engine and Iron Grinders and Glaziers, and Stove, Grate, and General Metal Workers have national agreements, and in the last-named section uniform rates obtain all over England and Wales. Blast-furnacemen, Ore Miners, Coke Workers, and Kindred Trades Workers have had national negotiations on week-end and holiday payment.

General Labour

The Women's Section of the National Union of General Workers attempts always to negotiate on a national basis, and national agreements with a flat rate for the country are often obtained, though in some cases this course has not been found possible.

Others

Among other Unions which have national agreements are the following :—

Tailors and Garment Workers (higher rate for London).

Amalgamated Society of Railway Vehicle Builders.

Carpenters and Mechanics (standard rates throughout the country).

National Union of Vehicle Builders (varying rates).

Brushmakers (uniform rates).

Leather Goods Workers (higher rate for London).

Coopers (failing other means).

Life Assurance Workers (nationally for each Company, and uniform rates).

DISTRICT AGREEMENTS

District agreements are found mainly in the following trades :—

Metal; Distributive Trades; Road Transport; Hosiery; Printing;

Dyeing, Bleaching, and Finishing; Cotton; Baking and Confectionery;

Furnishing; Leather; and Agriculture.

It will be seen that in some cases both district and national agreements are in operation in the same trade.

Metal

The Iron and Steel Trades Confederation conducts negotiations mainly on a district basis, though in some cases they are equivalent to national negotiations, as certain parts of the industry are localised; e.g., Tinplate Trade in South Wales.

The National Union of Blastfurnacemen, Ore Miners, Coke Workers and Kindred Trades negotiates on a district basis in most cases, and while district rates vary, an attempt is made to keep them as nearly equal as possible. The Northants district has only been organised since 1916, so that wages are lower there than elsewhere.

The National Union of Gold, Silver and Allied Trades also conducts district negotiations, and rates vary slightly in different areas.

Distributive

The National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers has district agreements in some cases through District Hours and Wages Boards.

Road Transport

The United Road Transport Workers' Association negotiates on a district basis and district agreements are common throughout the industry, though efforts have been made to conclude national agreements as far as possible.

Hosiery

The Leicester Hosiery workers and the Ilkeston Hosiery workers deal with their own districts only, separate agreements being concluded for the different areas. Attempts are being made through the Joint Council to arrange a common list.

Printing

Although, as previously stated, national agreements rule a large part of the industry, district negotiations remain the only method adopted for certain classes of workers. The London Society of Compositors, for instance, covers only the London area.

Textiles

Certain sections of the Lancashire Cotton Industry still favour district negotiations for piece rate lists, though war increases have been made on a "national" basis. Generally speaking, however, the industry is covered by agreements applying to all districts.

In Dyeing, Bleaching and Finishing, district agreements are in force, though general agreements have also been concluded through a Joint Board.

Food

The Operative Bakers and Confectioners' Union, and Journeymen Butchers' Union, both conduct negotiations on a district basis.

Agriculture

Negotiations on wages, etc., are now conducted by districts, and rates vary considerably from one part of the country to another.

Others.—In Leather Manufacture, Boot Repairing, Cooperage, and Barge Building, district agreements are the rule, though in some cases general agreements have also been made.

LOCAL AGREEMENTS.—No important Union now concludes local agreements on important matters save in very exceptional cases.

DURATION OF AGREEMENTS

The question of the length of agreements is one upon which opinion among the workers is greatly divided. There are those who oppose all long-term agreements, those who would let the duration be determined by the economic conditions prevailing at the time, and there are also many who deprecate fixing a period at all. The natural tendency is for employers to support and for workers to oppose long-term agreements made at a time of industrial depression and low wages, and *vice versa* at a time of great prosperity and high wages. Other factors also come into play, particularly in seasonal trades, where it is the employer's aim to make, and the worker's to avoid, agreements terminating at the end of the busy season. Farmers, for instance, prefer contracts to end immediately after the harvest, while the workers would choose a date shortly before the harvest.

The problem can hardly be settled on general principles, as the solution differs from trade to trade and from time to time; but there are certain considerations to be borne in mind in all cases.

The most important is to attempt to have the period fixed so that it expires at a time when the workers will be in a stronger position to renew it on more favourable terms. The probable economic conditions at that time, the financial power of the Union, the agreements of other Unions in the same industry—all these are factors to be taken into account. In this connection a business barometer showing the probable course of industry and employment would be valuable to Trade Union officials.

The practice of Trade Unions at present varies considerably, agreements sometimes lasting for as long as five years (Variety Artistes' Federation), and sometimes for a period of only a few months (National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades Association), while in many cases agreements continue in force until notice is given by one or other side to terminate.

In the following list, industries are classed under three headings, according to the length of agreements usually concluded, though it will be understood that in many cases there is no hard-and-fast rule, the period stated being merely the most usual:—

(a) PERIODS LONGER THAN ONE YEAR

Mining.—Usually three to five years. Present agreement terminates end of 1922, and thereafter three months' notice.

Boot and Shoe.—Three years.

Cotton.—Vary up to two years (Beamers, Twisters and Drawers) and up to five years (Card and Blowing Room Operatives).

Iron and Steel.—Certain sections have permanent agreements as long as the nature of the work remains the same.

Also *Tailoring* (12 to 18 months, with six months' notice), and *Gold, Silver and Allied Trades* (up to 18 months, with two months' notice).

(b) PERIODS OF ONE YEAR OR LESS

Textiles.—Woollen Industry—generally 12 months. Also less than 12 months sometimes for sections of Cotton industry.

Agriculture.—Vary, but tendency to make period longer. Many agreements terminate after harvest.

Furnishing.—Three to six months. Three months' notice for alteration, six months' for withdrawal from agreement.

(c) NO FIXED PERIOD

Railways.—Twelve months' notice is usual.

Building.—Six months' notice is usual, terminating at the date of the annual meeting.

Transport.—Some wage agreements terminate when the Cost of Living index falls to the pre-war level. (For other similar determinations by Cost of Living figure see chapter on Sliding Scales.)

Textiles.—Bleaching, Dyeing and Finishing, and Hosiery workers have no fixed period agreements, as a rule.

Distributive.—Very short notice is aimed at in all cases.

Metal.—Some sections (Ironmoulders, etc.) have agreements terminable on notice being given.

Printing,

Civil Service and Post Office,

Leather Manufacture,

Food,

Vehicle and Barge Building

} In these cases there is usually no fixed period.

CHAPTER VI

THE ADJUSTMENT OF WAGE RATES BY MEANS OF SLIDING SCALES

PRE-WAR

Until the war led to considerable changes in the methods by which wage rates were fixed, the earnings of the great majority of workers were based either on time rates or on piece rates.

In the former case the only factor taken into account was the time, the wage being so much per hour, per shift, per week, or other unit of time, while in the case of piecework there was generally a fixed rate per unit of output so that actual wages varied with the amount of work done.* On either basis annual earnings might vary from year to year either because of time lost, owing to various causes, or in the case of piecework, because of variations in output. Extraneous factors, such as the cost of living, the profits of the industry or the state of trade, did not automatically affect the wages of those who remained in employment.

There was one important exception; the wages of the majority of workers in iron and steel manufacture and of some miners have long been based on a Sliding Scale system, the rate increasing and decreasing with the fluctuations in the selling price of the product.

The number of workers who, before the war, were affected by such a system, is shown in the following table. The figures quoted apply only to those workers whose wages changed during the year in question:—

	IRON AND STEEL.		MINING.	
	Total Workers.	Under Sliding Scale.	Total Workers.	Under Sliding Scale.
1909.. ..	41 155	37,475	822,514	360
1910.. ..	43,866	38,425	399,904	1,569
1911.. ..	59,555	52,725	408,016	1,357
1912.. ..	72,813	61,834	951,646	1,366
1913.. ..	74,622	61,983	1,016,158	2,003

It will be seen that while there were well over 80 per cent. of the iron and steel workers under Sliding Scales, the proportion of miners working under such a system was negligible, being only about 0.2 per cent. Full details of these Sliding Scales are appended.

* A complication which should be mentioned is the system of differential piece rates. There are many varieties of this method, from the original "premium bonus" to later modifications introduced by Scientific Management experts, but the central feature of all is that there is not a fixed rate, but after a definite point has been reached, a varying rate, per unit of output. Such methods were not extensively in operation prior to the war though their use has since increased.

Although in all these cases the cost of living was not directly and formally taken into account whenever wages were revised, it was generally present in the background. Prior to the war, indeed, no periodical estimate of the cost of living was officially made, so that, as far as this factor was concerned, it was impossible to regulate wages with any precision. All that could be done was to urge in a general way that the cost of living was rising, as was evidenced by the index numbers of retail food prices published annually by the Board of Trade, and to claim compensation by way of increases in wages.

It is generally admitted that the great increase of industrial unrest from 1910 to 1914 was largely due to the ever-increasing burden which the rise in the cost of living placed on the workers, a burden which the workers could not pass on to any other class nor avoid by forcing up wages to the same extent. Wages did rise, particularly during the years 1911-13, but food prices were rising at a faster rate, and strikes became more and more frequent as renewed efforts were made to keep up the level of real wages. That the efforts did not succeed is shown by the Board of Trade statistics of disputes, wages, and prices :—

	Wages, 1896=100.	Retail Food Prices (London), 1896=100.	Purchasing Power in Food (London), 1896=100.	Number of Disputes.
1906.. ..	109'4	111 2	98'4	486
1907.. ..	113'2	114 5	98 8	601
1908.. ..	112'5	117'2	96'0	399
1909.. ..	111'2	117 3	94'8	436
1910.. ..	111'6	119 3	93'5	531
1911.. ..	111 9	119 3	93'8	903
1912.. ..	114'6	124'9	91'8	857
1913.. ..	118'0	125 2	94 2	1,497

There was undoubtedly an enormous amount of time, energy and money spent by Trade Unions in efforts to keep the level of wages up to that of prices, and while, without such fighting, the workers' position would certainly have been worse than it actually was, the decline in purchasing power shows that complete success was not attained.

Before leaving the pre-war period some mention should be made of the system in vogue in the Post Office, as this was one of the few, or perhaps the only one, which incorporated cost of living statistics in a scheme for fixing wages. Post Offices were classified according to the schedule set out below, there being five Provincial classes in addition to London which was treated as a separate class. Each class had its own distinct scales of pay for different grades. Classification (and therefore wages) depended upon both the cost of living in the particular area and the volume of work performed. Each kind of work was rated in units and the returns of traffic showed the total average number of units of work performed during the year. The cost of living figure for the area was taken from the published results of the inquiries which the Board of Trade held at intervals, and was expressed as a percentage of the London figure. As these inquiries were not held regularly, revision of the cost of living figure could only take place in-

frequently, and there was therefore no regular periodical adjustment as under the present day scales. The cost of living figures and the units of work were combined as follows :—

Cost of Living (London=100).	Qualifying Number of Units of Work.				
	Class I.	Class II.	Class III.	Class IV.	Class V.
90 and below ..	2,600	1,250	480	200	
91 to 93	2,000	950	350	150	
94 to 106	1,700	800	240	120	
107 to 110	1,350	550	200	All up to 120	
111 to 114	1,000	350	150	"	
115 and over ..	800	240	120	"	

WAR PERIOD

The position at the outbreak of war was quite unsatisfactory and unstable. No one supposed that industrial unrest would have decreased had the times been normal, and yet no one could see a way out of the difficulties except by overturning the existing industrial order. For a time there was a suspension of the labour struggle. Claims for higher wages were held up, but not for long; the cost of living took no account of the truce, and prices began to increase at a rate unheard of in pre-war days. From 1900 to 1913 retail food prices rose nearly 15 per cent., but this same increase took place in the cost of living in the short period of six months from July, 1914, to January, 1915, and a further 15 per cent. increase (over the July, 1914, level) between January, 1915, and October, 1915. A rise in prices which is only felt subconsciously when it proceeds slowly is forced on the attention in a very different way when it goes on at a rate which diminishes real wages by 15 per cent. in twelve months. Thus, while the steady but slow rise in prices during the ten years immediately preceding the war resulted in a half-conscious resentment and irritation leading to strikes and unrest, the rapid rise during the early years of the war, together with the necessity for avoiding industrial strife, produced the numerous schemes whereby wages were automatically adjusted to the fluctuations in the cost of living. At first there was no thought of an elaborate sliding scale, such as evolved later in many industries. It was not expected that the war would continue so long, nor was the extent of the rise in prices anticipated. Consequently the first demands for adjustment were met by the grant of a "war bonus" or by increases in the ordinary way.

The Committee on Production defined a war bonus as an advance "intended to assist in meeting the increased cost of living and . . . to be recognised as due to and dependent on the existence of the abnormal conditions now prevailing in consequence of the war." (Cd. 9126). This definition foresaw that high prices would continue after the war and suggested that awards would be continued, whereas a number of employers had regarded them as being limited to the war period. The wisdom of the former interpretation was seen after the war, as prices did not reach their highest point until two years after the Armistice.

It is very important to note that these bonuses quite obscured the question of the workers' right to a higher standard of living. The definite claim had been advanced, in the years preceding the war, that for many classes of workers real wages were far too low.

Miners and Railwaymen, for example, were admittedly underpaid. These claims for basic increases were almost lost sight of in the war period, as efforts had to be concentrated on maintaining the pre-war level of real wages.

Also, except in the Iron and Steel Industry, where the Sliding Scale remained in operation undisturbed by cost of living influences, the fact that very high prices accompanied very high profits did not lead employers to offer higher wages. On the contrary, the representative of the Engineering Employers' Federation told the Committee on Production in March, 1917, that "Workers were entitled to advances only in compensation toward the increased cost of living. . . . To admit for one moment that the rates should be increased in order to meet an extraordinary position of affairs, such as we now have, is a position which we cannot take." It is important to remember this when, in times of falling prices and low profits, employers seek to lower wages by complaining that the industry "will not bear" the existing rate. In good times they said that "what the industry would bear" was not a fair basis, and that cost of living should be the only factor to be considered. The numerous arbitration awards, which became even more numerous as prices rose more rapidly, did therefore enable the workers in many industries to meet the pressure. It began to be felt, however, that a less cumbersome machinery of adjustment could be devised, and so the Sliding Scales originated, the first being that adopted by the Dyers, Bleachers and Finishers of Lancashire, Cheshire and Derbyshire towards the end of 1917. The Yorkshire Dyers followed suit a few months later. By the end of 1920 nearly a million and a half workers were covered by such agreements, and by August, 1921, about two and three-quarter million workers. In all but three cases the *Labour Gazette* Cost of Living Index has been taken as the standard, the *Labour Gazette* Food Prices Index being adopted in two of these three. The principal industries and services in which Cost of Living Sliding Scales are now in operation are as follows :—

Building, Metal (excluding Iron and Steel), Textiles (excluding Cotton), Railways, Furnishing, Civil Service, Police and Tramways.

THE OPERATION OF COST OF LIVING SLIDING SCALES

At present there are at least 80 Sliding Scales in operation, some covering many thousands of workers, others being confined to a branch of a trade and covering only comparatively few.

The total number of workers covered is estimated by the Ministry of Labour to be about 2,750,000.

The agreements setting up the Sliding Scales have in the main been negotiated by the Employers and Trade Unions directly, but in about a dozen cases a Joint Industrial Council has been responsible, and in other cases a Conciliation Board or an Arbitrator.

Although all the Sliding Scales, except three, provide for the adjustment of wages according to the fluctuations in the Ministry of Labour Cost of Living Index Number, hardly any two are alike in their details. Usually a particular number in the index is chosen as the starting point (as a rule the current figure at the time of the agreement) and adjustment takes the form of a specified addition to, or subtraction from, the time or piece rate for a specified rise or fall in the index number. Revisions are made at intervals varying from one to six months, or in some cases only when the index number has risen or fallen by a specified amount. The number taken for the revision is in some cases the one for the current month, and in others the average of the preceding period. Other special conditions are provided for in some cases.

Appendix III. gives details of the scales now in operation, but a word should be said concerning the general principles which seem to underlie the majority of the schemes.

In the first place, there is hardly an instance in which the full amount of the increase in the cost of living is automatically made up in wages. In the case of the Civil Service Cost of Living Sliding Scale, which covers not only the entire permanent Civil Service but also about 200,000 Post Office workers, only those receiving a basic wage of 35s. or less receive a bonus equivalent to the increase in cost of living. When the cost of living stood at 130 per cent. above the pre-war level (and similar proportions hold good for other cost of living figures), those receiving a basic wage of over 35s. per week received an extra 130 per cent. only on the first 35s., with 60 per cent. on the part between 35s. per week and £200 per year, and 45 per cent. on the part above £200 per year. Those with over £500 per year (basic) sustained a further "super-cut" in bonus.

In the case of the Railways a similar feature is found. Professor Bowley points out in "Prices and Wages" that the bonus of 1s. per five points only gives an exact proportion throughout when the basic wage is 20s. For a Porter with basic wage 26s. 8d. the wage is 65s. when the cost of living increase is 150 per cent., being a wage increase of $143\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. over the original figure.

In the Yorkshire Woollen Industry the maximum Cost of Living wage for time workers was to be that calculated on a base rate of 33s. per week or on 80 per cent. of the index number, whichever gave the higher amount.

The aim in all these and other cases was to provide that the full increase in cost of living was only to be made up to the lowest paid workers.

In the second place, Sliding Scales have not entirely prevented a revision of basic rates in all cases. There has been a tendency in that direction, no doubt, as the fact that a bonus increase was known to be coming must in many cases have lessened the demand that would otherwise have been made for an improvement in the original wage. Basic increases have been obtained, however, even after a Cost of Living Sliding Scale had been adopted, by Postal Workers and probably by other classes.

The third point to note is that these Sliding Scales have not been adopted by some of the largest and most important classes of workers, nor, in some cases where they are in force, have they been regarded as satisfactory by all the workers. The only large and important industries and services covered by such schemes are Building, Wool Textile (Yorkshire), Bleaching, Dyeing and Finishing, Hosiery, Railways, and Civil Service (including Post Office). In all these cases a Joint Industrial Council (or similar organisation) exists and is active, so that although comparatively few of the numerous schemes have been agreed upon as the result of Whitleyism, it is probable that, measured by the number of persons affected, Joint Councils have been chiefly responsible for the widespread use of these Cost of Living Sliding Scales.

In Mining, Engineering and Shipbuilding, Cotton, Agriculture, Boot and Shoe Manufacture, and Printing no such schemes have been adopted, generally speaking, though sections of some of these industries have their own Sliding Scales. The National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers has resolutely opposed settlements based on Cost of Living Scales, while some sections of the Furnishing Trades have decided to give up the Sliding Scale as soon as it is practicable to do so.

OBJECTIONS TO COST OF LIVING SLIDING SCALES

That there are several weighty objections to the adjustment of wages by means of Sliding Scales based on the Cost of Living will not be denied by anyone who has followed the course of wages during the war and since. There is in the first place the difficulty that the only index number in existence

at present is that published by the Ministry of Labour monthly in the *Labour Gazette*, and it is well known that both workers and employers are reluctant to accept this index. While the only Cost of Living Index Number we possess is under suspicion, a Sliding Scale based upon it will give rise to friction and dissatisfaction. Nor is this a matter of ignorance, to be dissipated by an explanatory article in the *Labour Gazette*. The official Index Number is quite clearly unsatisfactory, being based on an inquiry nearly twenty years old, and no new inquiry can be carried out until a time of normal trade and normal working-class consumption is restored.

The second objection is the tendency already mentioned for real wages to be kept down to the level at which they happen to stand when the Sliding Scale is put into operation. It is said that advocates of such scales tend to assume that the only improvement needed in wages is an adjustment for higher cost of living when prices rise, and those who voice this objection point out that in very few instances, so far, have basic improvements been obtained while a Sliding Scale was in operation.

Another drawback is the tendency to make up for increased cost of living by increases in wages under a Sliding Scale only to the lower-paid workers, the scale being devised in such a way that higher-paid workers are left worse off in real wages. This, as has been pointed out, is characteristic of the scales at present in force.

Again, it is held by many workers that a Cost of Living Sliding Scale is degrading because it suggests that a minimum subsistence wage is being paid, while professional and other classes would not dream of adopting the same system because their remuneration allows of sufficient margin to provide for adjustment as prices rise.

THE CASE FOR SLIDING SCALES

Against all these objections there is one consideration of paramount importance on the other side. The Cost of Living Sliding Scale is merely a piece of machinery for maintaining the purchasing power of money wages, leaving the workers' organisations free to concentrate on the improvement of real wages. In the past Labour has had to expend its energies and funds on two quite different objects, which, however, became mixed up with each other, the distinction finally being lost in the general objective of "higher wages." "Higher wages" really mean two distinct propositions; first, higher money wages in order to maintain real wages, and, second, higher real wages in order to improve the standard of living. The failure to distinguish between real wages and money wages has over and over again led the workers in the wrong direction, and the fact that a Cost of Living Sliding Scale does once and for all sweep out of the way the source of this confusion is the strongest argument in its favour. There is an end to all the fighting to keep money wages rising as prices rise, and all the efforts of Labour can be concentrated on raising real wages and so improving the standard of life of the workers.

It may, however, be objected that this view assumes a continual rise in prices, and that while the advantages are obvious in such a case, the position is reversed when prices are falling. It may be said that in a period of falling prices the absence of a Cost of Living Sliding Scale would mean a continuous improvement in real wages while the operation of a scale would merely maintain them at the same level.

Actually there is little force in this objection, because, without a scale, wages do, in fact, fall when prices fall and rise when prices rise. There is always a tendency for wages to lag behind prices, but the lag is generally greater when prices are rising than when they are falling. This results in a loss to the wage earner if the movement is unregulated, whereas a Cost of Living Sliding Scale ensures an equitable adjustment throughout. Even if this were

not the case, and the lag were equal in both cases, it has to be remembered that normally the workers' organisations expend much time, energy and money in forcing up money wages as rapidly as possible during periods of rising prices and in resisting unfair wage reductions during periods of falling prices. All this is saved by the operation of a Sliding Scale, and Unions can work with the single aim of securing basic increases, that is to say, of improving real wages.

What of the other objections mentioned? It will be noticed that they apply only to the particular scales now in operation. It is true that the Ministry of Labour Index Number of Cost of Living is not satisfactory, and does not command universal confidence, but it will not always be so. It is quite certain that when conditions are normal a new inquiry will be undertaken, and a Cost of Living Index established which it is to be hoped will be accepted on all sides.

The provision that only the lower paid workers are fully recompensed for higher cost of living is again no necessary part of a Sliding Scale. It happens to be a feature of the scales now in existence, because the conditions at the time they were set up were abnormal. It was claimed, whether rightly or wrongly we need not stop to inquire, that other classes had been forced to accept temporarily a lower standard of living in consequence of the war, and that the better paid ranks among the workers should bear their share of the burden, this being accomplished by means of the specially devised Sliding Scales. Certainly no one would, from the workers' point of view, accept such a provision in normal times. All Sliding Scales based on cost of living must, if they are to receive consideration at all, provide for wage increases proportional to cost of living increases for all workers, and not merely for the lowest paid.

A similar reply is to be made to the objection that increases in real wages cannot easily be obtained. This was so during the war period, but there is no reason why it should be so in normal times. On the contrary, it should be laid down and clearly understood at the outset that any Sliding Scale adopted is agreed to quite without prejudice to claims for higher real wages. In ordinary times claims for basic increases would really be more easily made if Sliding Scales were in force, because the issue would be much more simple and the argument would not be obscured by irrelevant references to the cost of living. The workers have nothing to lose by insisting always that discussion shall centre upon real wages rather than money wages, and once it became habitual, as it soon would, to think in terms of real wages it would be no more difficult than it is now to press for increases. Under the present system we find that wherever wages rise the workers are largely robbed of the increase by a rise in prices. Under a Sliding Scale they would be automatically and immediately recompensed for any such rise in the cost of living. To the final objection that professional and other classes have no Sliding Scales the answer is that many of them wish they had, for no section has been so hard hit (relatively speaking) by the high cost of living.

There is a final question that deserves consideration. It is admitted that the Sliding Scales of this abnormal war period contain some very undesirable features, but it is urged that in normal times the scales could and should be perfected. Is there on the one hand any reason to suppose that the same undesirable feature would creep in during another abnormal period, and is there on the other hand any special advantage to be gained during a normal period? The gravity of the position since 1914 has arisen from the fact that the cost of living increased to such an enormous extent. We have pointed out elsewhere that the percentage increase in retail food prices during 1915 was equal to the increase which took place during the entire period 1900-1914. Thus, while a quarterly adjustment on a Sliding Scale basis very often gave

a considerable wage increase (or decrease) during the period 1915-1922, the corresponding alteration in normal times would probably be very small. It might therefore be desirable to have revisions less frequently when prices were changing slowly than during exceptional periods, when even a month might show a considerable increase or decrease. The arguments which apply most forcibly in abnormal times do remain valid, however, in ordinary times as well, for the reason stated at the outset : a slow steady rise in the cost of living is just as dangerous in its way as a rapid rise, and leads to constant irritation and unrest. Further, if a good Sliding Scale is established in normal times it will be difficult, if not impossible, to introduce the bad features of the present scales when an abnormal period comes. Both sides will have become habituated to basic increases irrespective of the cost of living and to the maintenance of real wages for all groups of workers.

Summing up, we may say that the Cost of Living Sliding Scale offers, on the whole, and subject to certain conditions, a net balance of advantage to the worker, because

(a) it eliminates the friction and waste consequent upon the effort to make money wages overtake rising prices ;

(b) it therefore leaves Unions free to concentrate upon an improvement in real wages.

The conditions to be observed are :—

(i.) A satisfactory Cost of Living Index Number should be available.

(ii.) Every scale should provide for *full* compensation for higher cost of living, whatever the basic rate may be.

(iii.) No scale should be agreed to except on the understanding that it is without prejudice to claims for basic increases.

(For details of existing Sliding Scales and their operation, see Appendix III.)

THE OPERATION OF SLIDING SCALES BASED ON SELLING PRICES

While the Sliding Scale based on Cost of Living has only come into use within the last few years, that dealt with in this section has governed wages in the greater part of the Iron and Steel Trade for half a century. Coal Miners in some districts have also tried this method from time to time, but in most cases have abandoned it after some years' experience. The same system was set up in the Birmingham Metal Trades between 1890 and 1895.

The number of Iron and Steel Workers covered by Sliding Scale agreements before the war was about 62,000, and of Miners about 2,000. The former included only skilled workers, but Labourers are now included in many cases. The Ministry of Labour estimates that the total number now covered by Sliding Scales based on Selling Prices is about 200,000.

There are at present about twenty scales in operation, but some of these are confined to small areas, and the differences are in some cases trifling. The classes of labour covered by these scales and the districts in which they operate are as follows :—

Iron Ore Miners (Cumberland, Furness District, North Lincs, Northants).

Limestone Quarrymen (Cumberland, Northants).

Blastfurnacemen (all districts).

Steel Smelters (England and Scotland).

Iron and Steel Workers (S. Wales, North of England, Midlands, W. of Scotland).

Siemens Steel Workers (S. Wales).

Galvanisers (England and Wales).

Tinplate Workers (S. Wales).

Tube Makers (Scotland).

The usual form of agreement provides that every three months the books of certain firms shall be examined by outside accountants pledged to secrecy, and the net average selling price of some specified product for the previous three months ascertained. The average for January, February, and March is ascertained in April, and the wages are thus fixed for May, June and July.

In some cases, however, revisions take place every two months or even every month.* The agreement then provides that wages shall be increased or decreased by a specified amount for a specified rise or fall in the selling price as ascertained.

For example, the wages of Steel Smelters in England and Scotland rise or fall by $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the agreed standard rate for every 2s. 6d. rise or fall in the selling price of 1 ton of Steel Ship Plates.

Limestone Quarrymen in West Cumberland have their wages varied by $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per shift for each 1s. per ton variation in the combined average price of 1 ton of Hematite Pig Iron, Mixed, Nos. 1, 2, and 3.

Galvanisers (England and Wales) have an agreement by which their wages fluctuate by $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on standard rate for each 5s. change in the price of one ton of 24 gauge galvanised corrugated sheets, less cost of spelter, so long as the price is not more than 200s. per ton. For prices above this the wage change is 2 per cent. for each 5s. per ton.

Similarly each scale has its own peculiarities, though the general principle is the same.

As an example of the working of a scale, let us take the Blastfurnacemen and Iron and Steel Workers' agreement in South Wales.

A standard combined selling price is taken of 85s. for one ton of Steel Rails and Steel Tin Bars. The combined average net price at maker's works is ascertained quarterly. Wages fluctuate to the extent of $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. for every change of 3d. per ton.

Suppose the price for January-March is 120s. per ton. This is 35s. over the standard price, so that the wage would be 35 per cent. over the base rate. Suppose the base rate is 80s. Then the wage for May-July is 108s. Suppose the price for April-June rises to 130s. per ton. The difference between this price and the last is 10s., and for each 3d. of this the wage is increased by $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on the base rate. The new wage would therefore be 116s. If the selling price rises higher than 130s. wages are only varied by $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. of the base rate for each 6d., instead of for each 3d. Thus a selling price, in the following quarter, of 140s. per ton would mean a wage of 120s.

The instance just cited is of the simplest form, where the workers are on "straight time rates." In practice other complications enter, some workers being on "time and tonnage rates," or "time and bonus rates," or "straight tonnage rates." The workers in the Open Hearth Basic Melting Department, whose average wages are given in a later paragraph, are on time and tonnage rates. Their base rates are permanent, but base earnings fluctuate with output, and total earnings fluctuate with the Sliding Scale.

In practice the Sliding Scale based on Selling Price results in large fluctuations in wages even in normal times, and much more violent fluctuations in abnormal times. Not only from year to year, but even from quarter to quarter considerable differences are found. In 1900 the wages were 40 per cent. above standard during the first quarter, and 46.75 per cent. above standard in the last quarter. The irregularity in earnings, which is a normal

* Details will be found in Appendix IV.A.

feature in the Iron and Steel Industry, is shown in Charts Nos. 2 and 3. Since the selling price of Iron and Steel bears no close relation to the cost of living, wages in this industry may easily decrease during a period of increase in prices and vice versa. Between February, 1921, and March, 1922, the average wages of a First Ladleman in an Open Hearth Basic Melting Department fell from 145s. 8d. per week to 80s. 1d. per week, a decrease of 45 per cent. The cost of living fell during the same period from 251 to 186, a decrease of 30 per cent.

Thus, comparing March, 1922, with February, 1921, the Sliding Scale resulted in a loss of 21.5 per cent. in real wages.

Or suppose we compare the wages in March, 1922, with the pre-war average. The average in 1914 for a 1st Ladleman was 58s. per week. He was receiving in March, 1922, therefore, only 38 per cent. more than his pre-war wage though the cost of living was 86 per cent. higher; this meant a decrease in real wages of 26 per cent. Finally, if we compare the same man's highest wage since 1914 (February, 1921), we find an increase of 151.2 per cent., while the cost of living rose to 176 per cent. above pre-war in November, 1920.

Owing to the reduction in hours in 1919 the higher-paid men received even smaller percentage increases, so that 1st Hand Melters, 2nd Hand Melters, and Pitmen are actually receiving lower money wages now than they received in 1914.

Taking the average for the whole industry, present wages are probably not more than 25 per cent. to 35 per cent. above their pre-war level, although the cost of living is over 80 per cent. higher than it was in 1914. The Sliding Scale has, therefore, meant a fall of 30 per cent. in real wages.

On the other hand it is quite possible—and, indeed, it actually happens—that real wages may be largely increased during normal times if there is for any reason a considerable rise in the price of Steel and Iron.

Some particulars of changes in wages in the Iron and Steel Trades are given in the following tables:—

CHANGES IN WAGES IN IRON AND STEEL MANUFACTURE (Cd. 7733.)

1905-1912

N.B.—These are mainly but not entirely due to Sliding Scale variations.

	Number Affected	Net Increase or Decrease in Weekly Wages
1905	63,836	£2,429 Increase
1906	72,427	£5,407 "
1907	69,276	£6,580 "
1908	70,573	£9 656 Decrease
1909	41,155	£1,470 "
1910	43,866	£1,864 Increase
1911	59 555	£1,290 "
1912	72,813	£10,109 "

INDEX NUMBERS OF SLIDING SCALE RATES IN STEEL MANUFACTURE*

1914-1920

Steel Workers in	Basic Process	S. Wales	W. Scotland
July, 1914	100	100	100
" 1915	100	102	139
" 1916	122	133	156
" 1917	141	148	161
" 1918	155	159	166
" 1919	163	173	215
" 1920	224	206	288

(From *Prices and Wages*, by Prof. Bowley.)

It might have been expected that some comparison would be made between the results of the Cost of Living Sliding Scales and the Selling Price Sliding Scales in their effect on the course of wages. Such a detailed comparison is unfortunately impossible owing to the number and complexity of the rates in the Iron and Steel Industry. It will be noted, however, that in the two outstanding cases where wages depend on the "proceeds of the industry," namely Iron and Steel and Mining, wages are now much lower (relatively to the 1914 level) than in any other industry.

THE CASE AGAINST SLIDING SCALES BASED ON SELLING PRICE

It is very unlikely that any other industry will now adopt this method of adjusting wages, and it does not seem very probable that the Iron and Steel workers will abandon it, but it may nevertheless be of some use to draw attention to the principal features of the system.

The real case against it was put by Mr. and Mrs. Webb in *Industrial Democracy* many years ago. They pointed out that it puts the worker in the position of a humble partner, entitled to a share in the product of the industry, but a partner without any voice in the management of the business, unable to exercise any control in the adjustment of supply to demand.

It is true that efforts have been made to modify the validity of the last part of this statement. Employers and workers in the South Wales Plate and Sheet trades, for example, agreed to set up a joint council to discuss the position of the trade commercially, technical efficiency and improvements, welfare and status of employees, and technical education in relation to the trade.

In spite of these tendencies the indictment remains substantially accurate. The Sliding Scale in question is based on the theory that supply and demand should determine the workers' wages, while the general Trade Union view is that an adequate wage for all workers should be a first charge on the industry.

Many workers feel inclined to press for higher wages when profits are high, but to carry this out in a deliberate scheme implies a lowering of the standard, perhaps below a really adequate wage, when trade is bad, and this is a position which ought not to be taken up. Moreover, it tends to produce a combination of employers and workers to keep up the price against the community if profits and wages are thereby increased.

*Bonuses which were subsequently merged in increases are not included, nor is a bonus of 10d. per shift, which remained in 1920 in South Wales.

In general it seems a very risky policy to make wages depend on selling price. The march of invention and improvement in technical processes ought in normal times to result in a general lowering of prices, and thus wages would tend to diminish. It is true that base rates may be altered, but the onus is always on the workers, so that alteration is difficult to obtain. As a matter of fact base rates continue for many years in the Iron and Steel trade without being changed, and though we cannot say definitely that the workers in this industry have fared worse with the Sliding Scale than they would have done without it, the policy does, as we have said, seem to be one of doubtful wisdom even from the point of view of self-interest.

MINERS

Although the Miners have now abandoned the Sliding Scales which formerly operated over a large part of the industry, there has been a revival of the principle in the settlement which was reached at the conclusion of the coal lock-out in 1921. The agreement provides that "the wages payable in each district shall be expressed in the form of a percentage upon the basis rates prevailing in the district, and shall be periodically adjusted in accordance with the proceeds of the industry as ascertained in such district. The amount of the percentage to be paid in each district during any period shall be determined by the proceeds of the industry in that district during a previous period, as ascertained by returns to be made by the owners, checked by joint test audit of the owner's books carried out by independent accountants appointed by each side."

The amount devoted to payment of wages above the "standard wages" is to be 83 per cent. of the surplus of the proceeds remaining after deduction of

(a) Cost of standard wages;

(b) Cost of production other than wages;

(c) Standard profits equivalent to 17 per cent. of cost of standard wages.

Any deficiency in (c) in any period is to be carried forward as a first charge on future surpluses. A "subsistence wage" is to be paid in any event, special allowances being made if necessary. In no district are wages to be paid at lower rates than standard wages plus 20 per cent. The "standard wage" referred to is the district basis wage as at 31st March, 1921, plus the district percentage as in July, 1914 (plus in the case of pieceworkers the advances made when hours were reduced from 8 to 7).

QUARRYING

Slate Quarrymen in North Wales also have their wages regulated to some extent with reference to the proceeds of the industry, but no definite Sliding Scale is at present in force.

APPENDIX I

LIST OF JOINT STANDING INDUSTRIAL COUNCILS UNDER TRADE GROUPS, WITH DATES OF FORMATION

(Corrected to June, 1921.)

Building and Allied Trades

Building (29/5/18).
Electrical Contracting (22/1/19).

Mining and Quarrying

China Clay (1/10/18).
Quarrying (23/9/19).
Tin Mining (17/1/19).

Metal, Engineering, etc., Trades

Metallic Bedsteads (21/10/18).
Bobbin and Shuttle Making (22/10/19).
Electrical Cable Making (4/9/19).
Gold, Silver, Horological and Allied Trades* (20/7/18).
Heating and Domestic Engineering (8/5/19).
Lock, Latch and Key Industry (8/12/20).
Needle, Fishhook, Fishing Tackle and Allied Trades (9/7/19).
Spelter (13/5/19).
Surgical Instruments (14/4/20).
Welsh Plate and Sheet (7/3/19).
Iron and Steel Wire Manufacturing (24/6/19).
Wrought Hollow Ware (21/7/19).

Textile Trades

Asbestos (12/3/19).
Carpets (18/7/19).
British Coir Mat and Matting (20/3/19).
Elastic Web, Cord, Braid and Smallwares Fabric* (5/3/19).
Hosiery (10/10/18).
Scottish Hosiery (6/11/18).
Silk (25/7/18).
National Wool (and Allied) Textiles (15/1/19).
Scottish Woollen and Worsted (5/11/18).

Paper, Printing, etc., Trades

Printing and Allied Trades (1/7/19).
Process Engraving (3/6/20).
Wallpaper Makers (8/1/19).
Paper-making (4/5/21).

Woodworking Trades

Cooperage (27/4/20).
Furniture* (21/7/18).
Packing Case Making* (24/1/19).
Saw Milling* (21/11/18).
Vehicle Building* (23/9/18).

* In suspense.

Glass, Pottery, Chemical, etc., Trades

Glass Manufacturing (exclusive of Plate and Sheet Glass) (11/3/20).
Pottery (11/1/18).
Cement Manufacturing (21/10/19).
Chemical Trades (16/8/18).
Match Manufacturing (23/7/18).
Paint, Colour and Varnish (18/9/18).
Seed Crushing and Compound Cake Manufacturing (15/2/21).
Soap and Candles (22/4/20).

Food, etc., Trades

Bread Baking and Flour Confectionery* (18/9/18).
Scottish Bakers (28/10/18).
Flour Milling (22/5/19).

Public Utility Services

Local Authorities' Administrative, Technical and Clerical Services, England and Wales (25/2/20).
Scottish Local Authorities' Administrative, Technical and Clerical Services (14/10/20).
Local Authorities' Non-Trading Services (Manual Workers) (England and Wales) (11/4/19).
Scottish Local Authorities' Non-Trading Services (Manual Workers) (29/10/20).
Insurance Committees, Administrative, Technical and Clerical (21/5/20).
Electricity Supply (1/5/19).
Gas (30/4/19).
Tramways (5/9/19).
Waterworks Undertakings (3/4/19).

Other Trades

Boot and Shoe Manufacturing (27/5/19).
Entertainments (18/3/20).
Gas Mantle (10/1/21).
Glove Manufacturing (21/3/21).
Made-up Leather Goods* (23/10/18).
Music Trades* (25/6/19).
Road Transport* (11/3/19).
Rubber Manufacturing (16/7/18).

Civil Service

Administrative and Legal Departments of the Civil Service (23/7/19).

Government Departmental Industrial Councils

Admiralty Departmental Council (10/10/19).
Air Ministry (23/3/20).
Ministry of Munitions† (18/2/20).
H.M. Office of Works (24/9/19).
H.M. Stationery Office (28/6/20).
War Department (12/5/20).

* In suspense.

† Merged in War Department.

LIST OF INTERIM INDUSTRIAL RECONSTRUCTION COMMITTEES ARRANGED IN ORDER OF DATE OF FORMATION

Patent Fuel* (3/6/18).
 Glove Manufacture (4/6/18); Now J.I.C. (21/3/21).
 Basket Making (5/6/18).
 Catering* (5/6/18).
 Brush Making* (13/6/18).
 Glass (2/7/18); J.I.C. (11/3/20).
Quarrying (2/7/18); J.I.C. (23/9/19).
 Furniture Warehousing and Removing (9/7/18).
 Fertilising (18/7/18).
Packing Case Making (31/7/18); J.I.C. (24/1/19).
 Blacksmiths and Farriers* (23/8/18).
Music Trades (4/9/18); J.I.C. (25/8/19).
Cooperage (10/9/18); J.I.C. (27/4/20).
 Cutlery* (12/9/18).
Safe, Lock and Latch (17/9/18); now Lock, Latch and Key J.I.C. (8/12/20).
 Cocoa, Chocolate, Sugar Confectionery and Jam (15/10/18).
 Envelopes and Manufactured Stationery (7/11/18).
 Railway, Carriage and Wagon Building* (11/11/18).
 Clay Industry (13/11/18).
Wire Drawing (14/11/18); J.I.C. (Iron and Steel Wire Mfg.) (24/6/19).
Wholesale Clothing (Ladies and Children's Light Section (27/11/18) T.B.
 Non-Ferrous Mines (9/1/19).
 Sugar Refining (15/1/19).
Paper Making (17/1/19); J.I.C. (4/5/21).
 Polish (Boot and Floor)* (19/2/19).
Gas Mantles (24/2/19); J.I.C. (19/1/21).
Lead Manufacture (25/2/19).
 Optical Instruments (26/2/19).
 Making up and Packing of Textiles for Export (7/5/19).
 Brass and Copper*.
Zinc and Spelter J.I.C. (Spelter Trade) (13/5/19).
 Committees with names in italics have been converted into Joint Industrial Councils or Trade Boards. The Lead Interim Industrial Reconstruction Committee is in process of conversion.†

LIST OF OTHER JOINT BODIES FORMED ON WHITLEY LINES

Trade Joint Council in the Engineering Trade.
 Trade Joint Council in the Shipbuilding Trade.
 Trade Joint Council in the Building Trade.
 Trade Joint Council, Miscellaneous.
 Co-ordination Committee for Government Industrial Establishments.
 84 Departmental Whitley Councils (Civil Service).
 National Maritime Board.
 National Joint Council for Dock Labour.
 Joint Council for Inland Waterways.
 The Joint Industrial Council, Guernsey.

*In suspense.

†June, 1921.

APPENDIX II

WORK OF VOLUNTARY PERMANENT CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION BOARDS, 1904-1913

(From Cd. 7658.)

	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913
Boards for Particular Trades	Number of Boards that Settled Cases									
Building	9	10	20	20	18	14	22	28	28	54
Mining, &c.	13	13	18	16	18	18	13	15	18	18
Iron and Steel	5	5	7	6	6	4	8	6	7	5
Engineering, &c.	10	9	11	10	12	9	8	7	7	7
Other Metal	3	1	5	3	5	1	3	3	5	4
Textile	1	2	1	—	1	1	1	1	—	—
Boot and Shoe	8	9	8	14	14	14	16	14	15	20
Railways.. ..	—	—	—	—	1	30	14	14	38	27
Other Transport	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	10	10	11
Others	3	5	2	—	3	5	5	4	5	8
District and General Boards.. ..	2	3	4	1	2	2	3	3	3	4
Total	57	60	78	73	83	101	96	105	136	158
	Cases Considered by all Boards									
Total	1418	1726	1561	1545	1842	1997	1971	4543	3083	4070
	Cases Settled by Boards									
Total	650	839	697	668	807	1025	1087	3548	2138	2574

APPENDIX III

COST OF LIVING SLIDING SCALES

Details of the Scales in operation in March, 1922, have been collected, for reference, from various issues of the *Labour Gazette*.

SLIDING SCALE AGREEMENTS

Building and Allied Trades

Building.—An agreement arrived at by the National Wages and Conditions Council for the Building Industry provides that rates of wages agreed upon on 11th April, 1921, shall be assumed to correspond with an index number of 170. Statutory meetings of the Council are to be held in January and July each year, and if there has been an average variation in the index number since the date of the above agreement (11th April), or since the date of any subsequent review thereof, of not less than $6\frac{1}{2}$ points, an increase or decrease in wages shall be made of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour in respect of every complete variation of not less than $6\frac{1}{2}$ points, the changes to take effect from 1st February and 1st August respectively. Under this arrangement a reduction of $3\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour was due from 1st August, 1921, but 2d. of this had already been effected from 16th May, and in view of a dispute as to the interpretation of the Agreement, it was arranged that the remaining $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. should be deducted in two instalments, 1d. from 1st August and $\frac{1}{2}$ d. from 1st September. Six months' notice.

Civil Engineering Construction Workers.—An agreement arrived at by the Civil Engineering Construction Conciliation Board provides that the rates of wages of navvies and labourers shall consist of basic rates varying from 8d. to $10\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour, according to locality, plus $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour for every $7\frac{1}{2}$ points, or part thereof, by which the Ministry of Labour index number exceeds zero.* The rates of wages of other classes of workers are fixed at $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 5d. per hour in excess of the current labourers' rate. Changes in the rates take effect from the first pay day after the publication of an index figure which shows the necessary variation. Six months' notice.

Gas Fitters (Birmingham).—The wages of these workers were reduced in August and October, 1921, under an agreement between the parties concerned. A Sliding Scale was also introduced whereby wages are to be altered quarterly (commencing in November) at the rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour for each five points variation in the official cost of living figures from a basic line of 134 points. To operate till index number falls to 70.

Electrical Contracting.—An agreement arrived at on 22nd September, 1921, between the National Federated Electrical Association and the Electrical Trades Union provides that the rates of wages shall be varied every four months, by one per cent. for each 3 points variation in the official cost of living figures from 150 per cent. above pre-war level. The first change under the scale took effect in October, 1921, being calculated on the average of the index numbers for the four preceding months as arranged in the agreement.

Public Works Contracting (London).—A resolution of the Public Works Conciliation Board provides for the variation of agreed rates of wages at $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour for each $7\frac{1}{2}$ points rise or fall in the index numbers from 150 per cent. Revisions are made quarterly (commencing in October, 1921), based on the average of the figures for the three preceding months.

* In cases where the actual rates in March exceeded the scale rates, the agreement provided for initial reductions of 1d., 2d., or 3d. per hour, followed by monthly reductions of 1d., till the scale rates were reached.

METAL TRADES

Women and Girls in Engineering Works.—An arrangement* made by the Engineering and National Employers' Federations provides that the rates of wages of women of 18 years of age and over shall vary by 1s. per week for every seven full points variation in the Ministry of Labour index figure from 140 per cent. above pre-war level. For girls of 14 to 18 years the variations in wages range from 4d. to 10d. per week for the same fluctuations in the index number. The changes in wages operate quarterly from July, 1921.

Electrical Cable Makers.—An agreement arrived at by the National Joint Industrial Council for the Cable Making Industry fixes rates of wages for male and female workers corresponding with index numbers ranging from zero to 150 by intervals of $7\frac{1}{2}$ points. In the case of male time-workers of 21 years and over the rates of wages rise by $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour for each $7\frac{1}{2}$ points in the Home Counties District, and by 1s. 6d. or 2s. in other districts. For female time-workers of 18 years and over there is no variation in wages for the first $7\frac{1}{2}$ points above zero, but from that point upwards wages rise by 1s. for each interval. For youths and girls lower rates of wages are fixed. The adjustments take effect monthly, but it is provided that the maximum amount of adjustment at one date shall be 4s. a week for men, 3s. for women and 2s. for youths and girls.

Edge Tool Workers (Midlands).—An agreement between the Edge Tool Manufacturers' Association (Southern Division) and the Trade Unions concerned provides that for each variation of one point in the index number from 151 there shall be an adjustment of wages by 4d. per week for male workers of 21 years and over, of 3d. per week for those of 18 to 21 years, and of 2d. for those under 18 years. The changes in rates of wages take effect on the first of each month, being based on the index number published in the previous month. To operate until the index number falls to 90.

Cast-Iron Hollow-Ware Workers (Birmingham and Wolverhampton).—For adult male workers in this trade an agreement between the Birmingham and Wolverhampton District Association of the Engineering and National Employers' Federations, the National Union of General Workers and the Workers' Union, provides that for every variation of one point in the index figure from 151 there shall be an increase or decrease in wages of $3\frac{1}{2}$ d. per week. Such changes operate from the first pay day in each month, being based on the index number published in the previous month. The agreement is to remain in force till the index number reaches 100, or until 31st December, 1921, whichever is reached first.

Brass Foundry Workers (Birmingham).—The Conciliation Board for the Brass Foundry trade has arrived at an agreement whereby there shall be a reduction or an increase in the rates of wages of men of 21 years of age and over, of 1d. per hour for each $12\frac{1}{2}$ points (or $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for each $6\frac{1}{4}$ points), by which the Ministry of Labour index number varies from 151. Changes in rates of wages are made whenever the index number shows the necessary variation.

Metallic Bedstead Making.—Resolutions of the Conciliation Board for the Metallic Bedstead Industry in Birmingham provide that a bonus of 24s. per week, fixed when the Ministry of Labour index figure was 125, shall be subject to an increase or decrease of 2s. per week for each variation of 10 points in the index figure above or below 125, conditionally on such variation being maintained for two months.

Harness Furniture Makers (Walsall).—An agreement covering these workers provides that rates of wages fixed March, 1921, should be regarded as corresponding with an index number of 140. Variations of 5 points from

* This arrangement has not been agreed to by the Trade Union, but it is understood to be in operation.

this number are to result in an increase or decrease of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in an advance of 50 per cent., payable on basis time rates, and in the percentage additions to basis piece rates. When the 50 per cent. advance has been eliminated the agreement is to be reconsidered. The changes operate quarterly, commencing with 1st July, and are based on the index number published in the previous month. It was agreed, however, that the first reduction, viz., 10 per cent., due to operate on 1st July, should take effect in two equal instalments on 1st July and the first pay day after 13th August. To operate till 50 per cent. on day work rates has been eliminated.

Gold, Silver, etc., Trades (Sheffield).—Under an agreement between the Master Silversmiths' Association and the National Union of Gold, Silver and Allied Trades, a bonus ranging from $32\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to 75 per cent. (for time-workers) is paid on base rates in respect of index numbers between 55 and 130. The bonus is altered by $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., or 10 per cent. for fluctuations of 15 points, revisions taking effect in the month following the publication of the index number. To operate until 11th August, 1922, or until index number falls to 55, whichever is reached first.

Gold, Silver, etc., Trades (Birmingham).—An arrangement made by the Birmingham Jewellery, Silver, Electro-Plate and Allied Trades Union provides that wages shall vary by 5 per cent. for every 15 points fluctuation in the official index figures from 130.

Silver and Allied Trades (London).—A revised agreement covering workpeople employed by manufacturing silversmiths in London provides that, for men, a minimum hourly rate of 2s. 1d. per hour shall operate when the Ministry of Labour index number is below 185 and not below 125. There is to be a reduction of 1d. per hour for each fall of 10 points below 125 down to 105, and for each fall of 15 points below 165, until a minimum of 1s. 6d. per hour is reached. If the figure should rise to 185 the minimum hourly rate is to be increased to 2s. 2d., and by a further 1s. for each additional 10 points. In the case of piece-workers, an increase of 130 per cent. on pre-war prices is to vary by 10 per cent. for each 1d. per hour change in time rates. The minimum rate for women is 1s. $3\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour, which remains unchanged when the index number is below 185 and not below 175, and varies by $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for each rise or fall of 10 points above 185 or below 175. The changes operate from first pay day after the first month following the publication of the *Labour Gazette*, which shows the necessary variation. To operate till June 30, 1922, provided the minimum rate does not fall below 1s. 6d.

Military Musical Instrument Making (London).—An agreement covering workpeople in this trade fixed minimum hourly rates of wages when the Ministry of Labour index figure was 125. These minimum rates are subject to an increase of 1d. per hour for every rise of 10 points in the index figure above 125, and to a decrease of 1d. per hour for every fall of 15 points below this figure, with a proviso that they should not fall by more than $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour, i.e., below the equivalent of an index figure of 65. The changes in wages take effect whenever the *Labour Gazette* shows the necessary variation in the index figure. To operate till January 4, 1923.

Wire Workers (London).—An agreement between the Master Wire Workers' Association (London) and the National Brass and Metal Mechanics' Union provides for the fixing of a rate of 1s. 9d. per hour, corresponding with index number of 137. For every variation of 12 points above or below this figure wages shall be increased or decreased by $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per hour. The changes in wages operate from the first clear pay week following the publication of the *Labour Gazette*, in which the index numbers shows the necessary variation.

Farriery.—Agreements between branches of the National Master Farriers' Association and the Amalgamated Society of Farriers covering *Glasgow, Greenock and Paisley* provides that a rise of 2s. per hour shall correspond with an index number of 141, and that there shall be an adjustment of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour for each complete variation of $6\frac{1}{2}$ points. The changes take effect from July 1, October 1, January 1, and April 1, based on the index number published in the previous month. A similar arrangement is in force at *Edinburgh*, except that the adjustment in wages is at the rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour for every 8 points variation in the index figure.

Sliding Scales regulate the wages of farriers in London and in Lancashire, Yorkshire, etc., in accordance with the official cost of living figures. Fluctuations of 7 points from 119 per cent. involve variations in wages of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour. Revisions are made quarterly (starting in September, 1921) on the figure for the preceding month. Lancashire, Yorkshire, etc., to operate till index number falls to 30.

Laminated Spring Makers (Sheffield).—An agreement between the Laminated Railway Spring Manufacturers' Association and the Associated Blacksmiths and Ironworkers' Society provides that a flat rate bonus of 34s. a week shall be reduced or advanced by a 1s. a week for each variation of six complete points in the index number from 119. The changes operate from the first full pay week following the date of publication of the *Labour Gazette*, in which the index number shows the necessary variation.

TEXTILE TRADES

Wool Textile Industry (Yorkshire).—By an agreement arrived at by the National Wool (and Allied) Textile Industrial Council in June, 1921, it is provided that payment of "cost of living wage" shall continue to be made on the scale previously in force (viz., for time-workers 10 per cent. for each 10 points variation in the index number from 145), but on the assumption that the index number has reached 105, the succeeding changes be made when it reaches 95, 85, 75 and so on. In the event of the index number rising to 145, the "cost of living wage" will be 115, and so on upwards. The maximum "cost of living wage" for time-workers is to be calculated on a basis rate of 33s., or based on 80 per cent. of the index number (actual or assumed), whichever gives the higher amount. To operate till June, 1922.

For piece-workers the "cost of living wage" corresponding to an index figure of 105, and the rise or fall for every variation of 10 points are as follows :—

Class of Worker	"Cost of Living Wage" for index figure of 105	Rise or Fall for every variation of 10 points below 105 and above 135
	Per cent.	Per cent.
Spinning and Manufacturing :		
Male Piece-workers	85.00	8.18
Female "	90.681	8.63
Pressers and Blanket Raisers.. .. .	66.81	6.36
Wool Sorting :		
Piece-workers	73.847	6.988

Woollen and Worsted Industry (West of England).—The West of England District Council of the National Wool (and Allied) Textile Industrial Council introduced a Sliding Scale method of regulating wages on 18th August, 1921. Adjustments taking effect in the full week after the quarterly meeting of the Council, are made at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in wages for five points variations in the Ministry of Labour index number from 115. The first change under this scale operated from the first pay week in November, being based on the index number for October. To operate till index number falls to 80.

Flannel Weaving (Wales).—In the case of workpeople employed in the flannel weaving industry in Wales, an arrangement is in force similar to that in the manufacturing sections in Yorkshire, except that for piece-workers the "cost of living wage" and variations are calculated at 80 per cent. of those applicable to time-workers.

Lambswool Spinners (Leicester).—The agreement covering these workpeople has been revised so as to provide for a bonus of $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per hour for each five points in the Ministry of Labour index number of food prices in the large towns. The changes operate every two months from March, 1921, based on the index number published in the previous month. To operate till 30th June, 1922.

Bleaching, Dyeing, Printing and Finishing.—In Yorkshire the wages of workpeople employed in this industry are regulated under two agreements, both of which provide that when the Ministry of Labour index figure is 100 per cent. or more above pre-war level the "cost of living wage" for time-workers is the equivalent percentage on basis rates, and for piece-workers it is a percentage equal to 80 per cent. of the index figure. When the index figure falls below 100 there is to be a variation for time-workers of .8426 of 1 per cent. for each rise or fall of 1 per cent. in the index figure, whilst for piece-workers the "cost of living wage" is to be four-fifths of the percentage paid to time-workers. Should the index figure fall to 40 per cent., the scale is subject to reconsideration. The fluctuations under the scale are considered by a Reference Committee in October, January, April and July, the index figure taken into account being that published in these months. In Lancashire, Cheshire, Derbyshire and Scotland, the "cost of living wage" takes the form of money amounts, uniform for certain groups of workers. In respect of an index figure of 120: the "cost of living wage" for males in Lancashire, Cheshire, and Derbyshire is 36s. 3d. per week for those of 21 years of age and over, 28s. 10d. at ages 18 to 21, 20s. 5d. at ages 16 to 18, and 15s. 7d. under 16 years. For females it is 21s. 7d. at 18 years and over, 16s. 10d. at 16 and 17, and 13s. 2d. under 16 years. In Scotland the "cost of living wage" for adult males and adult females payable in respect of an index number of 120 is the same as in Lancashire, but for youths and girls the amounts are slightly different. Alterations in the index number are followed by changes in these amounts in the proportion of 1 per cent. in the "cost of living wage" for 1 point in the index figure when the latter is at 100 or over, and .8426 of 1 per cent. in the "cost of living wage" for 1 point in the index figure when the latter is below 100. The dates of adjusting wages are the same as in Yorkshire. At Hebden Bridge, by an agreement between the Master Dyers' Association and the National Society of Dyers, Finishers and Textile Workers, arrangements are made for time-workers similar to those contained in the Lancashire agreement, but special percentages are fixed for piece-workers, ranging in different occupations from 88 to $102\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on basis rates when the cost of living index figure is 120.

Machine Calico Printing.—An agreement covering men in this occupation in Lancashire, Cheshire, Derbyshire and Scotland, provides that in addition to a flat rate bonus of 20s. a week, a "cost of living wage" of 110 per cent. on basis wages shall be paid when the Ministry of Labour index figure stands at 155 per cent. above the pre-war level and that such wage shall rise or fall in exact proportion with the index figure as long as the latter is at 124 or over. If it falls below 124 the variation in wages is in the proportion of three-quarters for one point in the index figure. Apprentices receive the same percentages, calculated on a revised scale of basic rates. The position is reviewed in November, February, May and August, in the light of the index figure published in those months, and any resulting changes in wages operate from the first pay day in the following month. Three months' notice.

Engravers to Calico Printers.—The wages of engravers to calico printers in England and Scotland are regulated by an agreement which provides that a "cost of living wage" of 40s. per week shall be paid when the Ministry of Labour index figure is 120. This amount rises or falls by 1 per cent. for each variation of 1 point in the index figure so long as the latter is 100 or over. When the index figure is below 100 wages rise or fall by 0.75 per cent. for each point. The wages are reviewed in January, April, July and October, and any necessary adjustment is based on the index figure published in each of these months. Three months' notice (not to expire before May, 1922).

Silk Manufacture.—In this industry an agreement* between the *Leek* Manufacturers' and Dyers' Association and the Trade Unions provided that, commencing with October, 1920, which, with an index figure of 164, is taken as the basis, every variation of 10 points in the Ministry of Labour index figure shall be followed by an increase or decrease of 2s. a week for males, 1s. 6d. a week for females, and 1s. for juniors. At *Brighouse* the wages of employees of silk spinners fluctuate in accordance with the arrangements made by the National Wool Textile Industrial Council. An award of an umpire appointed in connection with a dispute in the *Macclesfield* silk trade provides that for every 10 points variation from an index number of 120 there shall be increases or decreases in rates of wages of 2s. for adult males, 1s. 6d. for adult females and 1s. for juniors. The changes operate every two months from July, but no further reduction shall be made if the index number fall to 10. To operate till index number falls to 10.

Hosiery Workers (Midlands).—Under an agreement arrived at by the Joint Industrial Council for the Hosiery Industry (England and Wales) it is provided that a bonus of 1s. 3d. in the shilling on earnings should be paid when the Ministry of Labour index figure stood at 161 per cent. above pre-war level. This bonus was subject to a reduction of 1d. when the index figure fell to 145 and by a further 1d. when it fell to 130. For every further drop of 10 points below 130 a reduction of 1d. is to be made. The reductions in wages take effect from the pay day in the week following the publication of the *Labour Gazette*.

Hosiery Bleaching, Dyeing and Finishing (Midlands).—An agreement in this trade provides for reductions as follows for various classes of workpeople when the index number falls to 110 and for each succeeding fall of 10 points down to 60.

Trimmers on piece work, 10 per cent. Present bonus, 100 per cent.

Dyers, $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per hour. Present rate, 1s. 6d.

* To operate till wages are 25 per cent. above pre-war level.

Web Trimmers, $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Present bonus, 70 per cent.
 Trimmers on time work, $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per hour. Present rate, 1s. 9d.
 Menders, piece work Dyers, Scourers and other piece workers and male and female hands on set wage.
 Female Auxiliary Workers (18 years and over), $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour.
 Male Auxiliary Workers, $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per hour.
 Stokers, $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per hour.
 Menders on time rates, $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour.
 To operate till index number falls to 60.

Carpet Workers.—A revised agreement arrived at by the Joint Industrial Council for the Carpet Industry provides that when the index number reaches 170 the increase on base rates shall be 160 per cent. for time workers and 170 per cent. for piece workers. When it reaches 160, the percentage additions to base rates are to be 150 and 160 respectively, and so on. The changes take effect when the index number shows the necessary variation.

Packers, Makers-Up, etc. (Manchester).—Agreements between the Federation of Master Packers and the Trade Unions representing inside warehouse workers provide for the payment of a "cost of living wage" in addition to ordinary wages of 27s. 4d. per week for men and of 14s. for women when the Ministry of Labour index figure is at 100. Variations from these amounts are made of 3.28d. per week for men and of 1.68d. for women for every rise or fall of 1 point in the index figure, the revisions being made every 26 weeks, in January and July. It is provided that there shall be no reduction below the equivalent of an index figure of 100 prior to the expiration of the current agreement. Three months' notice.

Linen Manufacture (Kirkcaldy).—For workpeople in this industry basic rates of wages were agreed upon in May, 1920, when the index figure was 141. The agreement provides that wages shall be increased by a proportionate amount when the index figure rises by 10 points or more, and shall fall in the same manner, but not below the basic rates agreed upon. The increases take effect whenever the index figure fluctuates by 10 points. One month's notice (not to expire before December, 1921). Scale ceases when specified rates are reached.

OTHER TRADES AND OCCUPATIONS

Government Employees.—A bonus scheme was instituted for permanent Government servants (excluding those employed by way of manual labour of a kind common to the Government and other employment, whose remuneration is determined by other recognised machinery), when the Ministry of Labour index figure stood at 130. As from 1st March, 1920, the bonus was fixed at 130 per cent. on the first 35s. per week of ordinary remuneration, 60 per cent. on the next £108 15s. per annum, and 45 per cent. on remuneration in excess of £200. The total is increased or decreased by $\frac{1}{26}$ th of this bonus for every five full points variation in the average index figure above or below 130. The revision takes place every four months up to 1st March, 1921, and thereafter every six months, the index figure used being the average of those published for the preceding four or six months as the case may be. It has subsequently been arranged that as from 1st September, 1921, the bonus payable on the higher salaries shall be subject to a special reduction of 10 per cent. of bonus in the case of salaries for £501 to £699, or 15 per cent. for £700 to £799, 20 per cent. for £800 to £899, and so on, the reduction increasing by 5 per cent. for each additional £100.

Police Service.—In September last a Committee appointed by the Home Secretary recommended the adoption of an arrangement whereby there should be granted to members of the Police Force in England and Wales a bonus varying with the Ministry of Labour index figure of cost of living. Under this arrangement the Police Forces are divided into three categories, viz. (a) Metropolitan Police; large borough forces and county forces in areas which are mainly or wholly industrial; (b) forces of an intermediate character; (c) county forces of the rural or mainly rural counties and small borough forces. It was provided that no "cost of living bonus" should accrue until the index figure has passed 130 for forces in category (a), 140 for those in category (b), and 150 for those in category (c); and that for every five complete points by which the index figure exceeds these basic figures increases in pay as non-pensionable bonus should be given—amounting, in the case of married men, to 2s., 1s. 10d., and 1s. 9d. for constables in forces in categories (a), (b) and (c) respectively, with 3d. extra for sergeants and 6d. extra for inspectors. For single men the bonus recommended is one-half of that for married men. The bonus is to be assessed every six months (i.e., on the 1st April and 1st October), the average of the index figures for the previous six months being taken as a basis. It is understood that the above recommendations have already been put into operation in a large number of police forces.

Railway Service.—For adult male workpeople engaged in the manipulation of traffic, agreements provided that for each rise or fall of five full points in the Ministry of Labour index figure, there shall be an increase or decrease of 1s. in weekly rates of wages; but however great the fall in the index figure may be, wages are not to fall below certain fixed minima, which are generally at least 100 per cent. above the average pre-war rates of the respective grades. The necessary adjustments in wages are considered at meetings of the General Wages Board in March, June, September, and December, and are based on the index figure published in those months, any alterations in wages applying for the three ensuing months. An interpretation of the agreements made by the Central Wages Board provides that the amount of bonus payable when the index number lies between 121-125 shall be increased by 1s. for index numbers of 126 to 130, by 2s. for 131 to 135, and so on upwards, and reduced by 1s. for index numbers of 116 to 120, by 2s. for 111 to 115, and so on downwards with two exceptions, namely, that a fall in the index number from 169 to 161, and a rise from 141 to 149, are to warrant an adjustment of 1s. per week only. Similar arrangements are made by agreements covering the clerical staffs and the supervisory and traffic control staffs, with the exception that the increase or decrease for salaried persons is £5 a year; and for those paid at weekly rates 2s. a week (1s. 6d. in the case of female clerks) for every rise or fall of five full points in the index figure. In the case of railway dock staffs, arrangements are in force similar to those for the traffic grades. Scale ceases when specified rates are reached.

Vehicle Builders.—The National Union of Vehicle Builders, the Amalgamated Society of Wheelwrights, Smiths and Kindred Trades, and the Amalgamated Society of Woodcutting Machinists* have entered into two agreements, one with the National Association of Vehicle Builders (which covers mainly *the Midlands and the North of England*), the Scottish Vehicle Builders' Association (which covers the *Glasgow District*), and the *Welsh and Monmouthshire* Association, and the other with the National Federation of Vehicle Trades (which covers mainly *London, the South of England and Edinburgh*). The first of these agreements provides that there shall be a reduction of $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

* To operate till May 1, 1922.

per hour for a fall in the index number of the first 10 points below 141, and afterwards for every $6\frac{1}{2}$ points below 131. In the event of the index number rising, there shall be an increase in rates calculated on the same basis as in the case of a decrease. The changes operate from 1st June, 1st August, and every three months thereafter, based on the figure published in the previous month. The second agreement contains similar provisions except that the variations in wages are $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour for every $6\frac{1}{2}$ points fall in the index number below 138, and that changes take effect every three months from the first pay day after 21st May. To operate till April 30, 1922.

Another agreement between the Vehicle Building Employers of *Aberdeen* and the National Union of Vehicle Builders provides for an increase or decrease of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour for every $6\frac{1}{2}$ points variation from 131, the changes operating from 1st July, and every three months thereafter. To operate till May 1, 1922.

Coopers.—The Joint Industrial Council for the Cooperage Industry have arrived at an Agreement whereby adjustments in wages subsequent to October, 1921, are to be made on the basis of a reduction or increase of 1d. per hour and 5 per cent. in the case of time-workers and piece-workers, respectively, for each variation of 10 complete points below or above an index number of 120. The adjustments are to be made at quarterly meetings of the Council in October, January, April and July on the basis of the figure published in the current issue of the *Labour Gazette*, and are to take effect from the pay day after the first of the following month.

Furniture Manufacture.—Under an agreement between the *Bristol, West of England, and South Wales* Centre of the National Federation of Furniture Manufacturers and the Trade Unions, it is provided that a rate of wages of 1s. 9d. per hour shall correspond to an index number of 128. Increases or decreases from this rate shall be on the basis of 1d. per hour for the first 13 points variation and $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour for each additional $6\frac{1}{2}$ points. The adjustment of wages takes place every three months, commencing from May 27, 1921. It is also provided that, should the rate fall to 1s. 3d. per hour, the terms of the agreement shall be revised. To operate till wages fall to 1s. 3d.

An agreement between the *High Wycombe* and District Furniture Manufacturers' Federation and the National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades Association provides that rates of wages fixed in April, 1921, for journeymen should remain in operation till the Ministry of Labour index figure fell to 128, and should then vary by $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour for each complete $6\frac{1}{2}$ points below 128. In the case of women, labourers and apprentices no change takes effect till the index figures reaches 115, and the changes are then $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour for each 11 points for women, $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour for each 9 points for labourers, and 3d. to 10d. a week, according to age, for each $6\frac{1}{2}$ points for apprentices. As regards piece-workers the agreement provides for a variation in the price for making chairs of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per chair for each complete 13 or 17 points (according to the price) below 115. In the event of the index figure rising the scale operates on the same lines for variations above 141. The changes in wages operate from the first pay day in the week following the publication of the *Labour Gazette* in which the index numbers show the necessary variation. Three months' notice.

The *Yorkshire* Employers' Federation of Furnishing and Allied Trades has an agreement with the Trade Unions concerned, whereby the rates of wages for men are to be increased by $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour for each advanced $6\frac{1}{2}$ points in the index number above 128, and reduced by the same amount for each fall of $6\frac{1}{2}$

points below the same figure. The first change operates from September 1, 1921, and monthly thereafter, based on the index figure published in the previous month. Twenty-eight days' notice.

An agreement between the *London* Cabinet and Upholstery Trades Federation and the Trade Unions provides that rates of wages fixed in June, 1921, shall correspond with an index number of 144. Increases or decreases of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour are to be made for variations from this figure as follows :—

Cabinet Makers, Carvers, Chair Makers, Polishers, Japanners, Chair Shapers, Machinists, Upholsterers and workers in the carpet and blind sections, $6\frac{1}{2}$ points.

Packers and Porters, 10 points.

Polishers (female), $11\frac{1}{2}$ points.

Upholstresses, 13 points.

Piece-workers, learners, improvers and apprentices, *pro rata* to increase or reduction to the highest paid day worker.

The changes operate quarterly from August 1, 1921, and are to be based on the index number published in the previous month.

An agreement between the *Manchester* and District Furniture Manufacturers' Association and the Trade Unions provides the rates of wages at June 1, 1921, shall correspond with an index number of 170. Each variation of $6\frac{1}{2}$ points shall involve an adjustment of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour, the changes taking effect every three months from August 1, 1921, on the basis of the index number published in the previous month.

An agreement between the *Northumberland and Durham* Furnishing Trades Association and the Trade Unions provides that the rates of wages of men and women shall be reduced by $\frac{1}{2}$ d. and $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per hour, respectively, for each fall of $6\frac{1}{2}$ points in the index number from 128. The first change operates from October 1, 1921, and subsequent changes at intervals of three months. Twenty-eight days' notice

An agreement between the *Nottingham* Centre of the National Federation of Furniture Manufacturers and the Trade Unions provides that there shall be a rise or fall of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour for each variation from 128 in the index number of 6 points in the case of men and of 11 points in the case of women. The changes are to operate every three months, based on the index number published in the preceding month.

Woodcutting Machinists.—An agreement between the Scottish Timber Merchants' Association, the Scottish Employers' National Federation of Packing Case Makers, and the Trade Unions, provides that rates of wages in June, 1921, shall correspond with an index number of 135. For each variation of 5 points, there is to be a reduction or an increase in rates of wages of $\frac{3}{8}$ d. per hour for journeymen and of 3-16d. for apprentices. The changes operate each time the index number shows the necessary variation. To operate for six months, subject to one month's notice.

Packing Case Makers (London).—An agreement between the Metropolitan Box and Packing Case Manufacturers' Federation, the Export Packing Case Makers' Association, and the National Union of Packing Case Makers, provides for certain rates operative from May 26, 1921, which are subject, in the case of men receiving 1s. $10\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour to a reduction of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour when the index number falls to 127, and of $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour for each succeeding 19 points ($\frac{1}{2}$ d. for each of the first two six points and $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for the next 7). For workers on rates other than 1s. $10\frac{1}{2}$ d. the reductions are in proportion. The changes operate from the first pay day after the publication of the *Labour Gazette* in which the index number shows the necessary variation. To operate till index number falls to 63.

Paper Making.—An agreement arrived at by the Joint Industrial Council for the Paper Making Industry provided for certain minimum rates of wages corresponding with an index number of 155. When the index number falls to 130, 115 and 100 these rates are to be reduced by 2d., 3½d., and 5d. per hour respectively in the case of men; by 1½d., 2½d., and 3¾d. in the case of women; and by similar amounts in the case of youths and girls. In regard to the date from which the changes operate, it is agreed that when the index figure falls to those specified, one month's grace shall be allowed before the reductions in wages operate, and if, in the meantime, the figure rises again above the points specified, the reduction shall not operate. In the event of the index number rising the advances shall be paid without the month's delay. To operate till index number falls to 100.

Wallpaper Manufacture.—An agreement exists in this industry, and each quarter the parties consider the effect of the variations in the *Labour Gazette* and the *Statist* index numbers combined. The changes warranted by the scale, however, have not been put into operation in recent months. Three months' notice.

Bakers.—By agreements between the Incorporated Society of Principal Wholesale and Retail Bakers, Ltd. (London), the London Co-operative Societies, the London Master Bakers and Confectioners' Protection Society and the Trade Union concerned, it is provided that a rate for bakers of 60s. per week shall be paid when the Ministry of Labour index figure stands at 170. For each rise or fall of 10 points the rate is to vary by 2s. 6d. per week, with the interpretation that the reductions shall operate when the first two figures of the index number are 15, and when they subsequently reach 14, 13, and so on. The changes in wages operate on the last Saturday in each month, based on the index figure in the current *Labour Gazette*. For allied workers, women and juveniles, the variations in wages are to be 2s., 1s. 3d., and 9d. per week respectively for each 10 points.

An agreement between the *Birmingham and Midland Federation of Master Bakers' Associations*, the Co-operative Societies, and the Trade Union concerned, provides that rates of wages shall vary by 2s. 4d. a week for every 10 points rise or fall in the index number from 120. The first change under this arrangement dates from September 17, 1921. Three months' notice.

An agreement covering bakers at *Manchester* provides that there shall be an adjustment in wages of 2s. a week for every 9 points variation in the index number from 164, the first change taking effect from August 1, 1921, when a reduction of 10s. a week, based on a difference of 45 points, operated.

An agreement covering *North Staffs* provides that there shall be a reduction or increase of 2s. 6d. a week for men and women and of 1s. 3d. for youths and girls for each variation of 10 points from 120. One month's notice.

An agreement arrived at by the Scottish Bakers' Industrial Council provides that the rates of wages paid in May, 1921, shall be taken as the equivalent of an index number of 133, and shall remain unchanged till October 29, 1921, when the rates for the next six months shall be fixed on the basis of a variation of 1s. per week for every 5 points by which the index number for October 1 differs from that for April 1. To operate till April 29, 1922.

An agreement covering bakers at *Pontypridd and the Rhondda Valley* provides that a minimum rate of 80s. a week shall correspond with an index number of 135, and that the rate shall be increased or reduced by 2s. 6d. a week for each variation of 10 points from this figure.

Fishing (Milford Haven).—An agreement between the Milford Haven Steam Trawler Owners' Association, the Fish Salesmen's Association and the Milford Haven Steam Trawler Engineers' Union fixes weekly rates for engineers corresponding with an index number of 150. These rates are to be adjusted by 1s. a week for every rise or fall of 5 complete points in the index number until it reaches 100, when no further reductions are to be made. In addition poundage rates are to vary by 3 per cent. for each variation of 5 points in the index figure.

An agreement between the same Associations of employers and the National Amalgamated Labourers' Union provides for adjustment of wages as follows :

	Variation in index number from 150	Adjustment of Wages
Discharging (casual labour) ..	1	3d. per week
" (regular ") ..	5	1s. " "
Kit-washers and Coopers ..	5	1s. " "
Coalies	5	3% on piece rates
Scrubbers	5	5% " "
General Labourers and Riggers	5	1s. per week

By arrangement between the parties to these agreements the index number for May 1, which was 128, was taken as representing a fall of 20 full points from 150, and that for June 1, which was 119, was taken as representing a fall of 5 full points from 128. Although, therefore, the index number has actually fallen by over 30 points from 150, wages have only been reduced by the equivalent of 25 points. It has also been arranged that following the change in wages in July, no further adjustment shall be made until after January 1, 1922.

Brewery Workers (Burton).—An agreement between representatives of the Burton brewers and the Workers' Union provides that a rate of wages of 65s. for labourers shall correspond with an index number of 120. Reductions or increases in this rate are to be made at the rate of 1s. for each 5 points, movements of less than 5 points being carried over to the next adjustment. The first change in wages under this arrangement will date from the first pay day after September 30, 1921, and will be based on the index number published in the September *Labour Gazette*. Subsequent changes take effect at intervals of three months, but no reduction shall be made to a rate corresponding with an index number of less than 30. Three months' notice (not to expire before December 31, 1922). Scale ceases when index number reaches 30.

Dyers and Cleaners.—A new agreement has been arrived at between the National Federation of Dyers and Cleaners and the Amalgamated Society of Dyers, Bleachers, Finishers, and Kindred Trades, which contains a schedule of rates of wages for men, women and girls and boys, corresponding with index numbers at intervals of 10 points from 130 to 60. In the case of men the rates differ by 2s. a week for each 10 points, for women and girls the difference ranges from 6d. to 1s. 6d., and for boys and youths from 6d. to 2s., the amount of difference falling in most cases as the index number becomes less. Variations in wages under this scale operate from the first pay day in the month following the publication of the *Labour Gazette* in which the index number warrants a change. Three months' notice (not to expire before July 1, 1922). Scale ceases when index number falls to 60.

Wholesale Clothing Manufacture.—An agreement between the Wholesale Clothing Manufacturers' Federation and the Amalgamated Tailors' and Garment Workers' Union provides that certain minimum rates of wages agreed upon and subsequently embodied in an Order under the Trade Boards Acts, should only be varied in the event of a serious increase or decrease in the cost of living. The amount of such increase or decrease is agreed upon to be not less than $12\frac{1}{2}$ points from an index number of $167\frac{1}{2}$. When a variation of this amount occurs provision is made for application to be made to the Trade Board to vary the minimum rates by amounts ranging from 11-16ths to 1d. per hour for men and by $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour for women. Six months' notice, not to expire before June 30, 1922.

Shoe and Slipper Operatives (Rossendale).—By an agreement between the Rossendale Valley Boot, Shoe and Slipper Manufacturers' Association and the Trade Union, it was provided that rates of wages should be increased by 5 per cent. for every rise of 10 points in the index number above 125, provided that such price remained stable for three months, and that they should fall by $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. for every drop of 10 points below 125. By arrangement between the parties, increases due to operate in November, 1920, and February, 1921, were not granted, on the condition that no reduction in wages should take place till the index figure fell to 125 and remained stable for three months. This arrangement has now terminated, and wages were reduced by 5 per cent. from July 1, 1921.

Carters (Scotland).—An agreement between the Horse Owners and Carting Contractors' Federation of Scotland and the Scottish Horse and Motor-men's Association provides that for each variation in the index number of 5 points from 130 there shall be an increase or decrease of 1s. per week for men and of 6d. per week for youths under eighteen years. The adjustment of wages takes place quarterly. One month's notice (not to expire before April, 1922).

Pianoforte Makers (London).—An agreement between the Employers' Associations and the Trade Unions provides that a minimum rate of wages of 2s. per hour shall be paid when the index number is between $106\frac{1}{2}$ and 126. For each complete rise of $6\frac{1}{2}$ points above 126 and each complete fall of $6\frac{1}{2}$ points below $106\frac{1}{2}$ there shall be an increase or decrease of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour. The rates for labourers, women, and boys are to vary so as to maintain the same relative position to that for skilled men as applied when the latter is 2s. per hour. The changes are to operate every three months from September, 1921, the index number used being the average of those published for the three preceding months. Three months' notice.

Skip and Basket Manufacture.—An agreement arrived at on November 22, 1920, covering workpeople in this industry in Yorkshire provides that for every rise or fall of 10 points in the cost of food, as published by the Ministry of Labour, there shall be an increase or decrease of 10 per cent. on list prices.

An agreement between the Midland Counties Willow and Cane Workers' Employers' Association, and the British Amalgamated Union of Journeymen Basket, Cane and Wicker Furniture Makers provides that for every 10 points variation in the index number from 120, there shall be a reduction or an increase of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in the bonus (which is in most cases 90 per cent. on list prices), in the case of piece-workers, and of $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per hour in the case of time-workers. The changes operate from the first Monday in the month but one after the publication of the *Labour Gazette* in which the index number shows the necessary variation. To operate till May, 1922.

An agreement covering workpeople at *Busford* provides that rates of wages shall be increased or reduced by 5 per cent. for each variation of 10 full points in the index number from 120. The changes operate from the first pay day in the month following the publication of the *Labour Gazette* in which the index number shows the necessary variation. When the wages fall to 50 per cent. above pre-war level the scale ceases to operate. To operate till wages fall to 50 per cent. above pre-war level.

Gypsum Mining (Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire).—An agreement affecting workers in this industry provides for the establishment of rates of wages on the basis of an index figure of 150. These wages are subject to variation by 1d. in the £ on earnings for each point in the index figure, the alterations being made each time the index figure is altered.

Quarry Workers.—An agreement between the *North-East Lancashire Quarry Owners' Association* and the *Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers*, provides that there shall be an increase or decrease of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour for every $6\frac{1}{2}$ points variation in the index number from 170. The first change under this arrangement to operate from September 1, 1921, and subsequent changes at intervals of three months.

An agreement between the *Yorkshire Freestone Quarry Owners' Association* and the *Trade Unions concerned* provides that there shall be a reduction of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour for every $6\frac{1}{2}$ points variation from an index number of 170, the first change to operate from July 29, 1921, and subsequent changes at intervals of three months.

Bank Clerks (Ireland).—Under an arbitrator's award covering the staffs of the principal banks in Ireland, it is provided that a bonus of 20 per cent. on salaries shall be paid during 1920 on the basis of an index figure of between 115 and 135. For the purpose of varying the bonus in future years the average of the index numbers for the twelve months ending December is to be taken, and for every variation of 10 points above or below 125 the bonus is to be increased or reduced by one-fifth, the revised bonus being payable for the ensuing year.

Export Packers and Clothworkers (London).—Agreements between the *Export Packers and Allied Trades Society, Ltd.*, the *Master Clothworkers' Association, Ltd.*, and the *Workers' Union* provides that the difference between present rates of wages and agreed basic wages shall be divided into 13 equal parts, and that for each fall of 10 points in the index number below 130 there shall be a decrease of 1-13th of this difference. The changes operate every three months.

Warehouse Workers (Manchester).—An agreement between the *Manchester Warehouse Employers' Federation* and the *National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers* provides for minimum rates for male and female workers corresponding with index numbers at intervals of 10 points from 50 to 150. In the case of males the variations in weekly wages are generally 2s. 6d. for those of 22 and 23 years, 2s. 3d. for those of 20 and 21 years, and smaller amounts down to 9d. for those of 14 to 19 years. For differences of 10 points below 70, the variations in wages in some cases differ slightly from the amounts specified. In the case of females the variations for index numbers of 100 to 150 are 1s. 6d. for those of 21 years, 1s. 3d. for those of 19 and 20 years, 1s. for those of 16 to 18 years. For index numbers below 100 the variations are in some cases the same, and in others slightly different. Corresponding increases will be made should the index number rise above 150. The changes operate every three months from April, and are based on the index number published in the previous month. One month's notice.

Tramway Workers.—A recommendation of the National Joint Industrial Council for the Tramway Industry provides that rates of wages shall be increased or reduced by 1s. a week for each complete 5 points variation in the index number from 135. The first change is to operate from the first full pay in August, 1921, and subsequent changes at quarterly intervals. Three months' notice.

Waterworks Employees.—A recommendation of the National Joint Industrial Council for the Waterworks Undertakings industry provides that there shall be an increase or decrease of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour for each 6 full points variation in the index number from 146. The changes operate quarterly from July 1, 1921, and are based on the average of the index numbers published in the three preceding months. No reduction in wages is to be made which will reduce them below 50 per cent. over pre-war level. To operate till wages fall to 50 per cent. above pre-war.

Stoneware Pottery Manufacture (Scotland).—An agreement between the Potters' Federation, Ltd., and the National Society of Pottery Workers provides that the wages of men, women and boys in the trade shall be varied by $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour for variations in the official index figure of 6, 8 and 11 points, respectively, from 141 per cent. Changes take effect on the first pay day after the fourteenth of the month in which the index number showing the requisite variation is published. One month's notice (not to expire before March 31, 1922).

APPENDIX IV.—A

SLIDING SCALES BASED ON SELLING PRICE IN OPERATION MARCH, 1922

Occupation	Locality	Product the price of which regulates Wages	Period between Changes	Amount of Wages Variation	Standard Price	Provisions regarding termination of Agreement
Iron Ore Miners	Cumberland	Hematite Pig Iron, Mixed, Nos. 1, 2, and 3	Months 2*	1d. per shift for 1s. per ton	per ton 204s. 6d.	—
Do.	Furness District	Pig Iron Nos. 1, 2, and 3	1	1d. plus 10% per day for 1s. 3d. per ton	None	—
Limestone Quarrymen	West Cumberland	Hematite Pig Iron, Mixed, Nos. 1, 2, and 3	2	3½d. per shift for 1s. per ton	75s. and 204s. (according to occupation)	3 months' notice
Ironstone Miners and Blastfurnacemen	North Lincs.	Pig Iron	3	1½% for 2.4d. per ton	45s.	4 months' notice, not to be given before the expiration of 2 years from the end of the war, or 3 years from the date of the agreement (2.10.18), whichever shall be the earlier
Ironstone Miners and Blastfurnacemen	Leicester and Lincs., Notts and Derby	Do.	3	1½% for 2s. per ton	56s. 7d.	—

* Temporary arrangements are at present in force under which monthly revisions of wages are to be effected.

Occupation	Locality	Product the Price of which regulates Wages	Period between Changes	Amount of Wages Variation	Standard Price	Provisions regarding termination of Agreement
Iron Ore Miners, Blastfurnacemen and Limestone Quarrymen Blastfurnacemen	Northants.	Pig Iron (other than basic iron)	Months 3*	$\frac{1}{4}\%$ for 2s. 4d. per ton	per ton 47s. 6d.	4 months' notice, not to expire before 31.3.23
	Cleveland and Durham	Cleveland Pig Iron No. 3	3	$\frac{1}{4}\%$ for 3d. per ton	54s.	—
	West Cumberland and North Lancs.	West Coast Hematite, Mixed Nos.	3	$\frac{1}{4}\%$ for 2s. 4d. per ton	70s.	—
Do.	North Staffs.	North Staffs. Pig Iron	3	Do.	34s.	3 months' notice
Do.	South Staffs.	Northants and Derby, Notts and Leicester	3	Do.	54s.	—
Do.	West of Scotland	No. 4 Forge Iron Pig Iron (except alloys)	3	1% for 1s. 1d. per ton	65s.	3 months' notice
Blastfurnacemen and Iron and Steel Workers	South Wales and Monmouthshire	Steel Rails (20 lb. weight per yard and upwards) and Steel Tin Bars	3	$\frac{1}{4}\%$ for 3d. up to 130s. and for 6d. over 130s. per ton	85s.	6 months' notice not to be given before 1.1.21
Steel Smelters, &c.	England and Scotland	Steel Ship Plates	3	$\frac{1}{4}\%$ for 2s. 6d. per ton	106s. 3.97d.	—

* Temporary arrangements are at present in force under which monthly revisions of wages are to be effected.

Occupation	Locality	Product the Price of which regulates Wages	Period between Changes	Amount of Wages Variation	Standard Price	Provisions regarding termination of Agreement
Iron and Steel Workers	North of England	Finished Iron	Months 2*	2½% for 5s. per ton	per ton 140s.	3 months' notice
Do.	Midlands	Manufactured Iron	2	10% for 20s. per ton and smaller percentage for smaller variations	Not known	—
Siemens Steel Workers	South Wales	Steel Tin Bars	3	1¼% for 2s. 6d. per ton	100s.	3 months' notice, not to be given before 1.4.21
Iron Workers ..	West of Scotland	Manufactured Iron	2	2½% for 5s. per ton	127s. 6d. to 132s. 6d.	—
Galvanisers ..	England and Wales	24-gauge galvanised corrugated sheets, less cost of spelter	2	200s. per ton or less, 2½% for 5s.; more than 200s. per ton 2% for 5s.	150s.	—
Tinplate Workers	South Wales and Monmouthshire	Steel Tin Bars	3	1¼% for 2s. 6d. per ton	150s.	3 months' notice, not to be given before 1.2.22
Tube Makers ..	Scotland	Screwed and Coupled Tubes (black) up to 6in. diameter	3	Not known	Not known	—

• Temporary arrangements are at present in force under which monthly revisions of wages are to be effected.

APPENDIX IV.—B

SLIDING SCALE VARIATIONS IN WAGES OF CERTAIN CLASSES OF IRON AND STEEL WORKERS

I.—SMELTERS' SLIDING SCALE FOR THE NORTH *July, 1914 = 100*

	February	May	August	November
1915.. ..	96.7	100	103.3	109
1916.. ..	115.4	122	129.7	134
1917.. ..	138.4	140	139.5	139.5
1918.. ..	147.2	155	156	155
1919.. ..	160	161	179	200
1920.. ..	205	224	246	253.7
1921.. ..	254.8	234	209.8	170
1922.. ..	140	129		

II.—MIDLANDS IRON AND STEEL WORKERS

		Wages per ton (Puddlers)
1906.. ..	Oct. 8 to Feb. 2, 1907	8s. 9d.
1907.. ..	Feb. 4 to April 6, 1907	9s. 0d.
1907.. ..	April 8 to Aug. 3, 1907	9s. 3d.
1907.. ..	Aug. 5 to April 4, 1908	9s. 6d.
1908.. ..	April 6 to June 6, 1908	9s. 3d.
1908.. ..	June 8 to Aug. 1, 1908	9s. 0d.
1908.. ..	Aug. 3 to Dec. 5, 1908	8s. 9d.
1908.. ..	Dec. 7	8s. 6d.

III.—WEST CUMBERLAND BLASTFURNACEMEN

Fluctuations of Wages on 1889 Standard

	1st Quarter	2nd Quarter	3rd Quarter	4th Quarter
1906.. ..	37.25% above	33.25% above	30.25% above	32% above
1907.. ..	41% "	42.5% "	45.75% "	46.5% "
1908.. ..	36.75% "	25% "	23.5% "	20.25% "
1909.. ..	20.5% "	17.75% "	18% "	20.75% "
1910.. ..	25% "	31.25% "	32.75% "	—

CHART I
NUMBER OF DISPUTES SETTLED BY DIRECT NEGOTIATION
AND BY ARBITRATION OR CONCILIATION

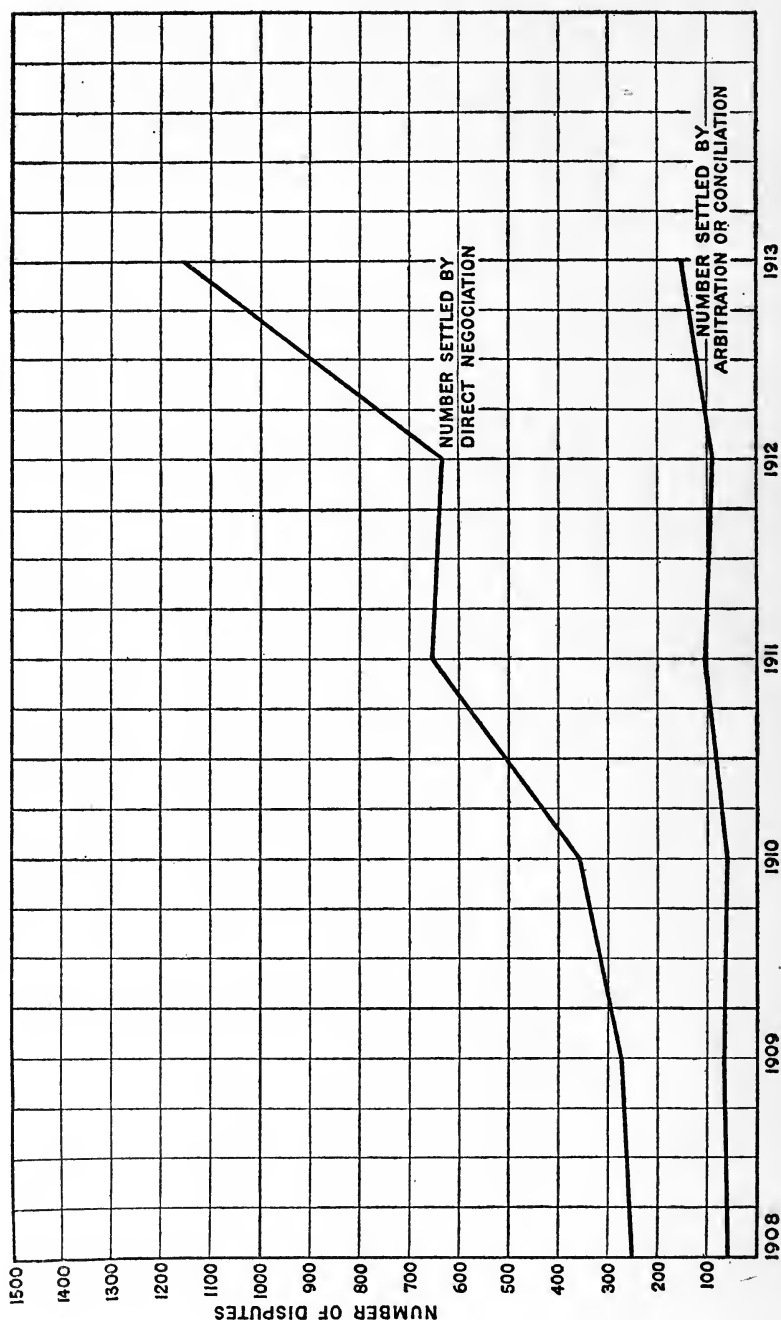


CHART II

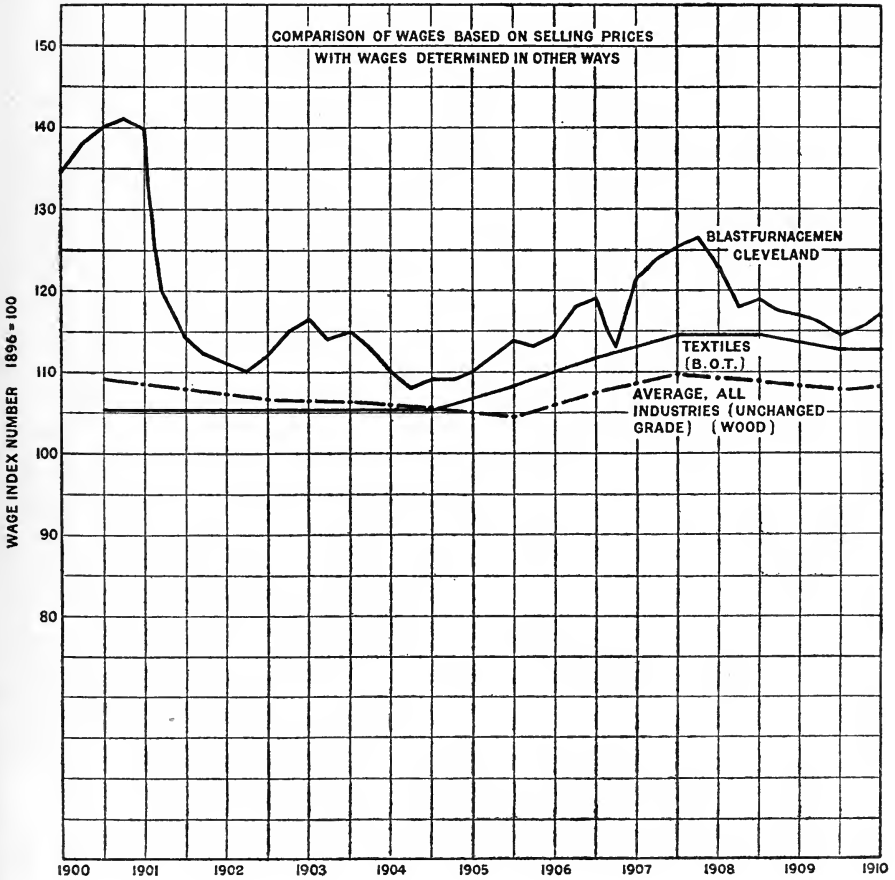
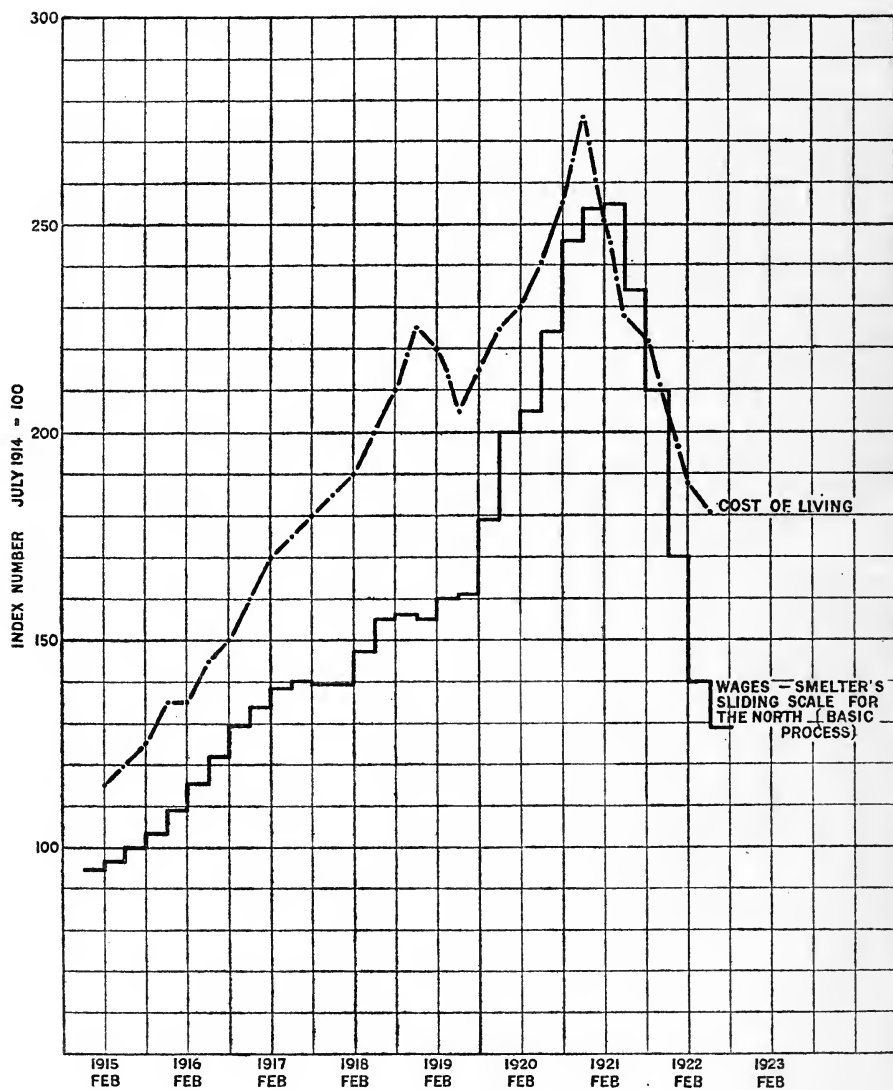


CHART III
WAGES BASED ON SELLING PRICE
1915-1922





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